

DEMOCRATIC ENGLAND

BY

PERCY ALDEN, M.P.

LATE WARDEN OF MANSFIELD HOUSE UNIVERSITY
SETTLEMENT

AUTHOR OF "UNEMPLOYMENT AS A NATIONAL QUESTION"

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

CHARLES F. G. MASTERMAN

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FOREWORD

THE greater part of this book has already appeared in the shape of a series of articles written for the *Chautauquan Magazine*. The chapter on State Insurance is new, while the whole has been brought up to date so far as possible. The title of the book would seem to limit the treatment to England, or at any rate the United Kingdom; but it was felt that it would be as well to make some mention — in a few cases extended reference — to similar questions in the British colonies. The book is designed for those who wish to get in a short, compact form a general idea of the latest developments in social legislation.

PERCY ALDEN.

WOODFORD GREEN, ESSEX.

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INTRODUCTION

THE House of Commons may claim to have specialists and experts in almost every department of legislative work, but it can never have too many enthusiasts in the cause of social reform. My friend, Mr. Percy Alden, is an enthusiast with intimate knowledge of the hard tangible realities of working-class life. His twelve years' experience in East London, gained in the conduct of the University Settlement at Canning Town and in the work of administration on the Council of West Ham, entitles him to speak with almost unequaled authority as to the requirements of present-day legislation. His frequent visits to the United States and Canada and his close observation on the spot of new developments in Australia and New Zealand justify the comparison he institutes between our Colonies and the Motherland. His six years in the House of Commons as Member for a huge East End industrial constituency have revealed him as a powerful, sane, consistent advocate of the people's welfare. No

man has more impressed Parliament with his sincerity, his intelligence, his refusal to accept quack nostrums, his determination never to rest until some condition more adequately realizing the demands of justice and compassion is developed out of the confused chaos of present social disorder.

Mr. Alden's study of social democracy in Great Britain has, however, a value quite apart from the fact that he has lived in an atmosphere charged with sympathy with those who toil. The social and economic problems with which he deals are basic and fundamental, for upon the successful solution of these problems hang, not only the future happiness and contentment of the working classes, but the very existence of our community.

We are gradually readjusting our outlook to an altered environment,—an environment which the present government has, during the past few years, done much to shape. The crowded city slums and the depopulated fields present to us a tragic and significant contrast. Men and women whose lives have been maimed and blighted by the ignorance or carelessness of relatives on the threshold of life have not made their appeal in vain. The sickly, etiolated child of the "mean street" is now recognized as being, not a thing

to be lightly thrown aside, but an asset of the State,—a stone in the fabric of the Empire. The old man, worn out with long years of hardship and penury, no longer goes down to the grave cursing the land that gave him birth: for him the Old Age Pension Act has brought at least some relief. It is some sign, little enough in all conscience, that the nation remembers his patient labor with gratitude. For the sweated worker there is now the hope of a minimum wage. Even for the sick and diseased, poor pale battalions of broken folk, a light has shone forth in the darkness, and the vast enterprise known as the Insurance Act will bring to them as well as to the unemployed a new gospel. That gospel, translated into the terms of this everyday existence and with its characteristics at present dimly discerned in outline more fully revealed, may call forth from the heart of the people an answering throb of gladness.

We live in a strange, confused time. Progress, to-day as yesterday, is often a journey over the bodies of men and women who have sacrificed themselves for the race, trodden down by “the hungry generations.” But the time is also full of hope. New forces are compelling those who

live at the summit of Society, willy-nilly, to consider the lot of those at the basis: the people who walk in darkness and under the immediate shadow of death.

There are men and women who have *seen* the sufferings of the people; and because they have seen them can never again put by the burden of human destiny. The nations are becoming self-conscious. They are adopting the motto of the Delphic Oracle as their own. The word has gone forth "Know thyself." The "Social Problem of the condition of the people" is challenging political activity, religious enterprise, art, accumulation, and comfort.

Mr. Alden states his facts dispassionately. They are none the less facts, — each with a human entity at the end of all calculation and statistic: loving, hating, aspiring, enduring; endeavoring by what light is possible to walk not without honor and happiness towards the journey's end. It is in the hope that such facts, so apprehended, may bring to some reader the sense of work still to be done, of the unaccomplished travail of heart and of mind, that I write these few lines of goodwill and fellowship.

CHARLES F. S. MASTERMAN.

DEMOCRATIC ENGLAND

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THE GENERAL SITUATION

It is extremely difficult for any one not fully conversant with English politics to comprehend the situation in which the democracy of the United Kingdom has been placed as a result of the spirit of aggrandizement recently manifested by the House of Lords. Few countries can claim to be wholly democratic in their form of government, but Great Britain has, for a generation at least, been regarded as essentially a democratic State, and we have assumed that with successive Parliaments, the area of self-government would be still further extended and the privileges of an aristocratic class be more strictly limited. The Parliament elected in 1906 contained an immense majority in favor of Liberal, Radical, and Progressive principles. The old "laissez faire" policy had well-nigh disappeared. The individualism of the Manchester school, while maintaining its hold upon some of our most intelli-

gent leaders, had, nevertheless, been tempered by the altruistic spirit of the younger men, who entered the House of Commons full of enthusiasm for humanity and for the social causes which seemed to them bound up with the success of their own principles.

The spurious imperialism of a large section of the Unionist party had received a severe check. The policy of Free Trade and of amity with other nations, to all appearances, was triumphant. With scarcely a misgiving this huge army of men moved forward to the attack upon the constitutional and economic strongholds of the Tory party, which had so long resisted any attempt at capture.

Up to that time both Conservatives and Liberals, acting on opportunist principles, had allowed measures of a collectivist character to pass into law. The area of State interference had been enlarged, public activity and public safeguards had replaced ancient individualistic methods, greater powers had been devolved upon local authorities, and these authorities, not slow to avail themselves of their new powers, were pressing for further control and still larger grants from the Imperial Exchequer. Such developments would not in themselves have

created the crisis which has arisen in the history of Great Britain. Underlying every new demand and every fresh piece of legislation has been the policy of reconstruction, stated by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman in the Parliament of 1906, and more recently emphasized by the present Prime Minister. This policy of social reconstruction made it necessary to deal with the unequal distribution of wealth, and with the great monopolies of the land and of liquor. In the mind of the working classes the possession of huge incomes from the land, combined with the vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a few, renders inevitable an attack upon the existing social system. "Property," said Mr. Asquith, "must be associated in the mind of the masses of the people, with the ideas of reason and justice." No social reform worthy of the name could be obtained without dealing with the wealth that was unearned and the powerful monopolies which contributed an inadequate share towards the maintenance of the State. This was an entirely new conception so far as the Liberal party was concerned, and the moment it became actually crystallized in the shape of certain measures, financial and otherwise, which the Lib-

eral party intended to press through Parliament, that moment the issue was joined. The Unionists, both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, regarded it as an attack on private property, as subversive, not only of the interests of their own supporters, but of the true interests of the country. Many of them honestly believed that nothing but ruin awaited the nation accepting a policy which distinguished between earned and unearned income, that compelled attention to the sources of wealth and to the means whereby it was obtained, that treated land as being different from other forms of property.

The Education Bill of Mr. Birrell was wrecked because it seemed to clash with the rights of the Established Church of England. The Licensing Bill penalized a trade which had given active and unremitting support to the Conservative party as a reward for the legislation passed into law by Mr. Balfour. The valuation of land and the attempt to abolish plural voting were equally banned as leading to unsettlement and to a disregard of vested interests. Finally, the Budget of Mr. Lloyd George, with its valuation clauses, its graduation of estate duties and income tax, its distinction between

earned and unearned income, and its licensing duties, roused all the forces of Conservatism to vigorous action. That action resulted in the rejection of the Budget by the House of Lords and the implicit assertion of the right of the House of Lords to deal with finance.

A few years ago, any one who had ventured to say that the House of Lords possessed a constitutional right to interfere with finance, would have been laughed out of court. We have the authority of Mr. Balfour himself that "the House of Commons settles uncontrolled the finance of the country." This privilege of the Commons was definitely contested by the Tory party, and the prolonged conflict which followed has resulted in the restoration to the House of Commons of those rights which an unrepresentative and hereditary second chamber had endeavored to wrest from the people.

It would be a mistake, however, to minimize the importance of the crisis as it affected the constitutional history of the United Kingdom. Liberalism does stand to-day for something more than an opportunist policy. Without claiming too much for the new program which the Liberal party has put

forward, this, at least, may be asserted with confidence, that it implies a desertion of the old individualist standard and the adoption of a new principle—a principle which the Unionists call socialistic.

If it be true that a positive policy of social reconstruction savors of socialism, then, of course, this contention can be justified. The main point is that the function of the State in the mind of the Liberal and Radical of to-day is much wider in scope than seemed possible to our predecessors. The State avowedly claims the right to interfere with industrial liberty and to modify the old economic view of the disposal of private property. Liberalism recognizes that it is no longer possible to accept the view that all men have an equal chance, and that there is nothing more to be done than merely to hold evenly the scales of government. As a matter of fact, the anomalies and the injustices of our present social system have compelled even our opponents to introduce ameliorative legislation. But the Liberal of to-day goes further. He asks that such economic changes shall be introduced as will make it possible for every man to possess a minimum of security and comfort. Property is no longer to have an undue

claim: great wealth must be prepared to bear burdens in the interests of the whole community. Our social system must have an ethical basis.

It is this new spirit which has excited the ire of the Lords. Old Age Pensions, Trade Boards, Labor Exchanges, Small Holdings, Housing and Town Planning, all these measures might have been overlooked, but the policy which places the control of industry in the hands of the people and provides equal opportunities for self-development, which asserts the claims of the State to a share of the unearned increment, is a policy which has aroused the fiercest opposition, finally culminating in the revolt of the Lords and an attempt to assert their supremacy. The famous Budget of Mr. Lloyd George discriminated between income that is earned and income that is unearned. Roughly speaking, every one pays a tax on earned income of ninepence in the pound unless the income exceeds £2000. All unearned incomes are taxed at the rate of fourteen pence in the pound. At the same time an attempt was made to introduce more fully the principle of graduation, although it has not been found possible to make this principle of graduation absolutely uniform and complete. Below

£700 it is regular in its working, between £700 and £2000 it is graduated in respect of earned income, above £5000 there is a separate rate of sixpence in the pound upon the amount by which such incomes exceed £3000, so that a man whose income is £5001 will pay a super tax on £2001, which means that he pays an additional income tax of rather less than twopence halfpenny in the pound. On £9000 he would pay a total income tax of eighteen pence, on £18,000 of one shilling and sevenpence. The amount of income in England liable to this super tax is £90,000,000,¹ and the yield of the super tax is estimated at £2,300,000.¹ This money will go to the relief of the poorer taxpayer, thus aiding in the more equal distribution of wealth. In the same way with death duties, the new rates imposed are estimated to yield in the end a revenue of some £4,400,000. Such a sum, taken out of the estates of the wealthy, represents a lightening of the burden of those whose incomes are comparatively small. Generally speaking, one may say this is the principle which underlies the whole Budget. The only method by which Mr. Lloyd George or any other Chancellor of the Exchequer could, under

¹The estimate has been largely exceeded in each case.

present circumstances, directly aid in the juster distribution of wealth, is by placing the burden of taxation upon the shoulders of those who are better able to bear it, to remove some at least of the load from the comparatively poor.

With the whole financial policy of the government, especially as regards super tax, unearned incomes, and the taxes on land, the Liberals are in hearty accord. They are especially interested in land taxation, and on behalf of these land taxes they have put up a stout fight, the echoes of which have not yet died away. Let us mention only two, for the other taxes are comparatively simple both in principle and in operation. By what is called the undeveloped land duty the owner of the land is taxed at the rate of one halfpenny in the pound on the site value of undeveloped land, not including minerals, and it is thought by the Labor party, and indeed by all land reformers, that this tax will have the effect of bringing into market areas of land around the large towns, which are being held up by their owners until such time as the rise in price makes it extremely profitable for them to build on that land or to sell it outright. It need hardly be said that all parks, gardens, or open

spaces for the benefit of the public will be exempt, as well as all agricultural land the site value of which does not exceed £50 per acre. The increment value duty is a duty levied upon the increased site value of all land from the date when the valuation is made by the government, up to the time when the land is sold or leased for not less than fourteen years, or passes by death. These two taxes, although they are new to England, form part of the established practice of other communities, and the Labor party, recognizing the importance of this new development, has given the Budget its hearty support.

The attitude of the Labor party at the last two elections was exceptionally friendly, as a result of the Finance Bill and the attack upon the Lords' veto: Liberalism and Labor, for the first time for several years, were found fighting side by side. It was recognized that if Liberalism were beaten in this conflict, it was a blow not only at the party which had put forward such a bold program, but also at democracy as a whole. In the House of Commons the Labor party is made up of two sections, one — and that by far the larger — the Trade-union, the other the Socialist section. These two sections work under the same constitution, vote in the same

lobby, and are guided by the decision of the majority. Those who make up the Labor party are men who represent large industrial constituencies, and as such have a right to be heard in the House of Commons. That right is freely recognized, and the utmost respect is shown to these hard-headed, far-seeing, straightforward representatives of the working classes. They have won for themselves a place in the councils of the State. They have not sacrificed their independence, for they still maintain the position that it is only by independence that organized labor can assert its claim to the rights and the privileges of which the people have been so long deprived, yet, in nearly all practical measures, they are at one with the Radicals.

The late leader of the Labor party, Mr. George Barnes, while a Socialist, and therefore rather in advance of the main section, is moderate in the expression of his views and always willing to listen to what has to be said on the other side. He has shown his independence of judgment on many occasions, notably in sacrificing his position as secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers when differing from his men in the matter of a trade dispute. Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, recently the

secretary of the Labor party and now its chairman, is one of their ablest speakers. His education and wide reading, his visits to our colonies and to India, as well as to the United States, have given him a broad grasp of world politics, and he never speaks in the House of Commons without contributing something of value to its discussions. He won his seat with the help of Liberal votes, and the Liberals, who are not slow to recognize the worth of a good man, will, notwithstanding his independent attitude, continue their support. Mr. Keir Hardie, the founder of the Independent Labor party, still maintains his position as the idealist. To many he is a Socialist visionary. He is far removed, however, from the category of the fanatic, though it must be admitted that he denounces a compromise with Liberalism in somewhat unrestrained language. Philip Snowden, another well-known Socialist, whose wife has aroused great interest by her lectures in the United States, is a man who, even if his speech is somewhat bitter and satirical, is none the less a sincere and earnest exponent of the creed of the Labor party. He is the hero of a hundred Socialist platforms. In the House of Commons he makes out a good case

for his advanced principles, and is especially able in dealing with finance.

Charles Fenwick and Thomas Burt, both of them made Privy Councillors by a Liberal government, are two Labor men of the old type, who have been definitely associated with the Liberal party for many years. Notwithstanding their advocacy of Liberal principles, they are uniformly respected by every organization of workingmen. At the same time a difficulty has been created by their refusal to sign the Labor party constitution, and only the high regard in which they are generally held and their faithful service in the past, has enabled them to hold their own at this very critical period in the history of democracy. The present Labor party in the House of Commons consists of forty Trade-unionists and Socialists, all of whom are pledged to vote together. Of these men no less than sixteen are representatives of the Miners' Federation.

The weakness of the socialist movement in England is the lack of harmony in the various sections which make up that movement. The Fabian Society is too well known to need any description. It represents chiefly the younger people

of the middle classes and is not comparable in number (2500) with the other socialist bodies. None the less, it has greatly influenced all other advanced movements. It has supplied, to a large extent, the literature which is circulated amongst the working classes ; it is the Fabian Society which has prepared the way for many changes in administration and many new legislative measures. At the present moment, under the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, supported by Mr. Bernard Shaw, it is attempting, with the help of a strong committee and a large outside membership, to break up the present Poor Law system and to promote legislation upon the lines of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission.

Side by side with the Fabian Society, as a body of practical politicians, is the Independent Labor party. It possesses many good men and not a few real enthusiasts. From the very first it has endeavored to influence elections, both municipal and parliamentary, and not wholly without success. It is infinitely more powerful than the Social Democratic party, which has been in existence for a much longer term of years. The leading spirit of this latter party, which used to be known by the title

of Social Democratic Federation, is Mr. H. Hyndman, a wealthy stockbroker, who, however harsh and repellent may be his extreme views and the uncompromising statement of those views, has succeeded in retaining the confidence of an organization which has a reputation for shedding its leaders. Whether he be right or wrong, his sincerity is undoubted, and it must be admitted that he has not wavered in the slightest degree from the extreme socialist position which he has taken up on all political questions. The other party, which need only just be mentioned, is the Socialist party of Great Britain, a newcomer in the arena of labor. It is distinguished by its relentless condemnation of all other socialist bodies, and by its deliberate refusal to take any part whatever in ordinary political work or to sanction the passing of any palliative measure. They describe the victory of the only Social Democratic member in the House of Commons, Mr. William Thorne, as the result of a compromise with the Trade-union section of the Labor party, and throw scorn upon the possibility of ever achieving a socialist triumph until they have secured the overthrow of the whole competitive system. How that is to be

obtained without taking part in politics, they fail to explain.

The Labor party is in no way disheartened by the unexpected result of the decision of the High Court of Justice in the matter of payment of members out of Trade-union funds. That decision has made it illegal for Trade-unions to levy any compulsory contribution from their members for the support of representatives in the House of Commons, and possibly for any form of political work. It can still, of course, pay these representatives as officials of the organization, but it does not obviate the difficulty which arises when their representatives do not act in any official capacity. A Bill introduced by the Liberal leaders is at present being considered in the House. It practically reverses the Osborne judgment with one important exception. Trade-unionists need not contribute to the newly constituted political fund under this Bill if they have any conscientious scruples to so doing. This does not wholly satisfy the representatives of labor, but taken side by side with the payment¹ of members by the State, which is now a *fait accompli*, it removes the worst obstacle from

¹ £400 per annum.

the path of working-class representation. Meanwhile, the Trade-unions are rapidly increasing in numbers and influence. At the present moment the membership of those unions that are affiliated to the Trade-union Congress is estimated at 2,378,248, while 1155 Trade-unions are enumerated in the directory of the Industrial Trade-unions published by the Board of Trade. On the whole it may fairly be said that these great labor organizations have used their enormous powers for wise ends and purposes: the outbreaks of violence during the recent labor upheaval were due in most cases to men outside the ranks of the Trade-unions. With very few exceptions, their leaders have acted with justice and discretion, and the general feeling amongst all parties is that the influence of Trade-unionism makes for peace and law and order. Democracy must be allowed to express itself by organized methods and in combinations that are legal in form and theory. It must voice its needs on public bodies and in the House of Commons. It is only when there is any direct refusal to recognize the claims of labor, that there is any danger of a violent upheaval or of a class war.

One striking feature of the last few years has

been the rapid growth of the movement in favor of women's suffrage. This is partly due to the new organizations for promoting the suffrage, which have been formed to work upon militant and aggressive lines. These movements are known as the Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League. Both societies, especially the former, have been reaping the harvest which was sown by the older suffrage organizations working on constitutional lines and attempting to permeate the two great political parties. The militant organizations have also had the advantage of being started at the psychological moment, when the desire for greater freedom and a larger share in the management of their own affairs was beginning to find expression, especially in the minds of the younger women.

With thousands of women the militant suffrage movement has merely precipitated what was before held in solution. The unresting, discontented, seething, and tumultuous life of a very large section of women, especially in the middle classes, has at last found expression, and whether the movement as we know it now is or is not successful, England can never be again the same country. While I have

little doubt about the speedy triumph of the cause, I do not believe that all the persistent optimism of the Women's Social and Political Union, as to the results that will follow, is likely to be justified. They ignore the innate conservatism of the English people, they forget the natural instincts of woman herself. Their own success, both in raising money and in organizing meetings, has been so conspicuous that they are apt to leave out of account the preponderatingly large section of women who are wholly untouched by all the agitation that has taken place, who are either ignorant of it, or who persistently stand aloof, antagonized by what they conceive to be the extreme measures of the suffrage leaders. In truth, the women's movement is made up, like progressive forces generally, of many sections. There is a world of difference between Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Pankhurst. It is only natural that some of the older leaders should feel a little hurt and outraged by what they conceive to be the unwise tactics of the militant section, and while recognizing the fact that these tactics have greatly advertised the whole movement, they are none the less of opinion that such methods are detrimental to success. A most interesting out-

come of the growth of this movement has been the formation of such groups as the Actresses' Suffrage League, concerning which it is only necessary to say that it represents some of the brightest and the ablest stage women of our time. Let us look at the question of women's suffrage in the light of the great divergence of view among women, which has been revealed during the last two years. It is no longer a question as to whether women should have votes or no. The question has been complicated by several other considerations. For example, when they should be enfranchised, how they should be enfranchised, whether on the present qualification with modifications as in the Conciliation Bill, or some new qualification, such as the simple residential qualification of Mr. Geoffrey Howard's Bill, and finally, whether the methods to be employed to push the cause should be the ordinary peaceful methods or the militant and illegal methods which have become so common during the last twelve months. There are many who have stated their conviction that all consideration of women's suffrage must be postponed while such militant methods are employed.

At this stage, however, it seems to be a very

shortsighted policy to refuse the suffrage on the ground that some women have demanded it in a disorderly fashion. Violence is clearly not likely to be a successful weapon in the hands of women, but the use of violence does not justify those who honestly believe in women's suffrage in refusing to enfranchise. Many people forget that women have changed with the changing conditions of modern life; they have a larger part in the industrial, social, economic, and educational world. In this respect they are almost as fully engaged as men. To them, the question of the franchise takes precedence of all other demands, and while they are perhaps apt to ignore the fact that large numbers of women, for one reason or another, dislike the franchise, they nevertheless have a strong claim upon every democrat, and especially upon Liberals, who have always urged as an essential clause in the creed, "No Taxation without Representation." The great constitutional issue between the Lords and the Commons did no doubt obscure the question of women's franchise for a time. The constitutional suffragists were therefore wisely advised in trying to arouse the sympathy of men who are themselves fighting injustice in high places.

"You are asking," they say, "for equal political rights, for fair play to the progressive section of the British people. We also ask for equal political rights with men. To women much of the greatness of the empire is due; the sacrifices which we have made in the past have laid the foundation for the many triumphs achieved by Great Britain; we are called upon to play a larger part in the future than we have in the past. Give to us, therefore, what we demand as an act of simple justice." How far efforts of the constitutionalists will be successful within the near future it is difficult to say, but there is very little doubt that only such methods will, in the end, appeal to men who, after all, assert that the majority of women are indifferent on the subject.

The democratic movement in England has its counterpart in the colonies, where the greatest interest was shown in our constitutional fight. The Australasian colonies and Canada have this advantage over the mother country, they are not handicapped by an established church or by a landed aristocracy. Provided that the people of a new country are fairly united in their endeavor to obtain some reform, collectivist or otherwise, there is no one to say them

may; they can go from strength to strength, and if they use their power wisely, with little fear of any reaction. In Great Britain we have a large class wholly concerned with the preservation of the "status quo." They see no value in any change unless it leaves them secure and unmolested in the possession of their abundant wealth and their large estates. They have on their side all the prestige which belongs to a reigning class of titled landowners. The movement in the colonies in favor of the breaking up of large estates has only a very feeble counterpart in the Small Holdings Act of England. The large landowner, even though he may suffer at times, prefers the private ownership of railways to any form of State ownership, and land legislation he regards with the utmost suspicion. In Australia, on the other hand, colonial governments have extended the area of State activity and spent large sums of money on railways, telegraphs, telephones, tramways, waterworks, harbors, and land purchase. Criticism has, of course, been levied at their governments as a result, and it must be admitted that in some cases, as for example that of State railways, there has been a waste of money in somewhat reckless experiments,

but, generally speaking, our colonies have received a fair return for the large sums expended on the public services, in the rapid development of trade and industry and the rather high standard of living which the people enjoy. Not only are they free from the power of the aristocracy and old established landed gentry, but they are also free, as we must all admit, from that hopeless and demoralized poverty so often seen in the large cities of Great Britain. Every individual feels that he counts, and if he has energy and initiative, there is no reason why he should not improve his position. As the State progresses on collectivist lines, the individual, instead of being lost, seems to stand out yet more clearly. There never was a time in the history of our colonies when the able and active worker had such large opportunities. At the same time it must be admitted that as a result of the more even distribution of wealth and of the economic arrangements for providing a minimum standard of living, it is not possible for many men to make large fortunes, certainly not in New Zealand.

Legislation has attempted with some success to limit the operations of those who have great wealth ;

it has also, not unsuccessfully, attempted to check the growth of huge estates. The average member of Parliament (who is, of course, paid) is in close touch with the electorate, and even if he wished, could not escape from the pledges given to legislate in their behalf. It may be that the output of new Acts is too great, but, notwithstanding legislative blunders, the main tendency is in favor of sound and useful democratic measures. The labor men are nearly always skilled mechanics, with a fairly accurate knowledge of the industrial world, and certainly with a power of expressing their views on all questions which concern labor. They may not be great statesmen, but by virtue of the fact that they work together, by reason of their persistence and their patience, they have succeeded in obtaining reforms for their own people which are of a far-reaching and permanent character. New Zealand especially has been called "the experiment station of advanced legislation." There is no country in the world in which it is so possible for the people to create for themselves a higher social life by means of the political machinery at their disposal. It is a true democracy, for, notwithstanding the many legislative enactments which

give control to the State and seem to imply paternal government, it is none the less true that this State help is really the result of democratic action. In many respects the State can do for the individual what the individual cannot well do for himself. The more complex the State, the more need there is for State action.

While writing this, the results of the election in Australia have just come to hand, and they are immensely significant. The Labor party has now a majority in both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament, and will be thus firmly seated in power for six years. Perhaps the chief plank in the Labor platform was graduated land taxation. In the manifesto issued by the Labor party the following sentence occurs: "Land monopoly, then, bars the road to a policy of successful immigration, imperils our national safety, retards our development, threatens our very existence." Mr. Pember Reeves, the late High Commissioner for New Zealand, in commenting on the victory of the Labor party, stated: "Graduated land taxation of a drastic kind is overdue in Australia by at least twenty years. It has been to a large extent retarded by the Upper Houses of the State Legis-

latures. The present triumph of the Labor party is due in no small degree to a revolt against land monopoly and Second Chamber domination in the States. At both ends of the earth democracy finds itself confronted with the same obstacles."

The democracy in Australia has deliberately set itself to curb the power of the big landowner and to check the growth of great fortunes, not because the landowner or the millionaire is an object of hatred, but because in their view, unless there is closer settlement of the land, and a more even distribution of wealth, the community as a whole is bound to suffer. A country is not necessarily wealthy because it possesses a few multimillionaires. The essential for every country is that the well-being of all should be sought after and observed. A high standard of comfort for the masses of people is the final test of true wealth for any nation. It is to this problem of raising the general standard of comfort for the working classes that the democracy of Great Britain is now addressing itself.

THE CHILD AND THE STATE

OF late years there has been a marked tendency to lay stress upon the vital importance of the child and to encourage every measure which is made for its physical well-being. Theoretically nations have always held, since Plato's day, that healthy and well-bred children were a valuable asset of the State. Upon the children will one day devolve the task of administering and governing the Empire, and the no less difficult problem of maintaining our position in the competitive world. We must all admit that theory has long ago oustripped practice. Our doctors, our social reformers, not to speak of the preachers of eugenics, are continually urging the State to take action in the direction of securing more completely the proper education and training of both boys and girls. Yet, while we admit that great strides have been made, we must still deplore the fact that we have lagged in the rear, and that Germany and several other continental countries take a more complete and scientific view of the "child" problem than the people of

England. There is only one excuse that can with any justification be put forward for England. We have to remember that the extraordinary growth in our material wealth, and the rapid expansion of empire, have rather naturally obscured the immediate problems connected with the making of citizens. In our haste to become rich and powerful we have forgotten that if the increase in our material wealth is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the well-being of the working classes, that if we are neglecting the underfed children of the towns living amidst unhealthy and degrading conditions, we are thereby rearing a mighty edifice upon insecure foundations. Fortunately, it is not too late to combat evils that have been so long unchecked and unhindered. There must be no delay in organizing all the forces of our civilization, with a view to creating — even for the meanest and poorest child — such an environment as will make him fit to play his part as a member of the British democracy. We all know the tradition that the Englishman's home is his castle, and though that castle may consist of one or two poorly furnished rooms in an overcrowded tenement, he protests against any attempt to compel him to

supply better conditions for his children. We can trace, not only the high infant mortality and the defective condition of school children, but also the great army of unemployed and inefficient, to the ill treatment or neglect of childhood. It is often the case that parents, however well meaning they may be, have inflicted the greatest injury upon their own children by resisting every attempt made to compel them to conform to a higher standard laid down by acts of Parliament and the local authority. For example, many parents still fight most strenuously against the raising of the school age, and force their children, prematurely, into some employment at a scanty wage, while still undeveloped and uneducated. The true democrat recognizes that these children not only belong to their parents, but also belong to the State; and while the old beliefs and traditions have still to receive their quietus, slowly but surely, a saner attitude is being adopted towards the child both by the parent and the community at large.

We are just beginning to reap the fruit of the many committees and inquiries which have brought into prominence the importance of the "child problem" and enforced the necessity for immediate

action. How wide sweeping is the change in public opinion can be discerned when we remember that little or no interest was taken in the life of the child one hundred years ago. At the time of the accession of Queen Victoria not one single act of Parliament represented the parental interest which the State ought to take in the welfare of the young. The child was a chattel; it had no rights and liberties. The most brutal cruelty and the most distressing ignorance were manifested in the treatment both of boys and girls, and every effort to bring about a change on the part of a few large-hearted reformers was met by unflinching opposition. The last thirty or forty years, however, has witnessed a great improvement both in theory and in practice. We have grown more humane and more thoughtful. We are no longer prepared — or at least not to the same extent — to sacrifice all the future life of our country for the sake of some present gain. This marked change is, in a large measure, due to the early efforts of philanthropists and reformers like Shaftesbury, Oastler, Sadler, and Robert Owen, who first attacked the horrors and atrocities which marked the introduction of the factory system. The history of the industrial

revolution is too well known to require any detailed description. All the evidence at our disposal goes to prove that little children of immature age were regarded simply as wage-earning machines, that their sufferings were intolerable, and that the loss to the country, as a result of death and disease and physical degeneration, can never be calculated. It is almost unbelievable that the measures taken to limit, by State action, the rights of the parent or of the employer to exploit the labor of children, met with opposition at the hands of the selfish exponents of the non-interference doctrine. Looking back upon the history of those days with eyes that see more clearly now that the blurs and blots have been removed, we discern how greatly parental responsibility has been strengthened, and how completely the action of the State has been justified in its attempt to safeguard the interests of the child against inhuman or criminally careless treatment. Reviewing the last few years and studying the reports of Commissions and Committees (all of which have had their effect upon legislation), we begin to see the gaps that still remain in the city walls — unguarded places which must be made secure in the interest of the State itself.

The Children's Act of Mr. Herbert Samuel (1908) is, in itself, a direct illustration not only of the great interest that is taken in every question affecting the physical and mental well-being of the child, but also of the piecemeal character of our legislation in the past. It deals with practically every form of infant and child life, the protection of infants and little children, the treatment of children in reformatories and industrial schools, the question of juvenile crime, children's courts and probation officers. The Act supplements the deficiencies of previous legislation, and takes us a fair way in the direction of reform. Previous legislation of comparatively recent date has dealt with the provision of meals for necessitous children in elementary schools, the compulsory medical inspection of all children in the schools, and the early notification of births. We propose to deal more in detail with some of these measures, and it would be as well to begin with the infant before touching on those problems which affect the life of the child, whether the school child, the child worker, or the child criminal.

Medical men and public health officers have been greatly concerned by the comparative failure on

the part of the State to reduce the mortality amongst infants. While the general death rate throughout the country has been, on the whole, diminishing, infant mortality has not decreased in the same proportion ; in fact, until quite recently, the death rate among infants had been stationary, notwithstanding the growth of science and the multiplication of ameliorative agencies. This problem, side by side with the many other questions which arise from the huge growth of the towns and the depopulation of the country districts, must be a cause of great anxiety to every thoughtful man. The overwhelming pressure of town life ; the lack of fresh air, the tendency for the poor to crowd together in insanitary slums, the increased difficulty of obtaining a pure and cheap milk supply, the still greater difficulty of keeping the milk pure in the home ; the carelessness and the thoughtlessness of parents, — all these things have made it extremely difficult to rear the infant under normal conditions. Public health authorities, at last alive to the gravity of the situation, appealed to the government and pointed out that what the philanthropist has done, the State ought to be able to accomplish. The result has been a declaration of

war upon the many evils which militate against the life of the infant, — the declaration which found practical expression in the Notification of Births Act of 1907.

The actual number in England and Wales of infants who die every year is about 120,000. A quarter of all the deaths in any one year are those of infants. It is estimated that the normal death rate would be from 50 to 80 per thousand, and it is certain that in some of our slum areas it runs as high as 350 or 400 per thousand. The average infant mortality is, therefore, nearly twice as high as it should be, and much higher in the city than in the country, but highest of all in industrial towns where there is a large proportion of married women's labor. A few of the towns which bear a rather unenviable reputation in this respect are Burnley, Preston, Blackburn, Nottingham, Leicester, and Bury. It is fairly clear that the chief cause of the high death rate in these towns is the labor of the mother, which makes it impossible for her to feed her own child, employing not only the substitute of artificial food, but also the substitute of some hired labor for the mother herself. The failure of the mother to nurse her

own child is perhaps the chief cause of a high death rate.

The Notification of Births Act was made possible by an experiment set on foot in Huddersfield. The then Mayor of Huddersfield, Alderman Broadbent, attempted to arouse a greater interest in their infants on the part of mothers in the poorest districts, by giving a reward to every mother who took the trouble to have her child regularly seen and weighed by the doctor or nurse, and who presented the child in a healthy state at the end of the year. Following up this merely voluntary action, Huddersfield obtained a compulsory system of early notification, and the death rate among infants fell from 138 per thousand to 85. This made the work of reformers in the House of Commons comparatively easy. The Notification of Births Act provides that it shall be the duty of the father or any person in attendance on the mother, to give notice of the birth, in writing, to the Medical Officer of Health for the district in which the child is born. This notice must be posted or delivered within 36 hours of the birth. The Local Authority undertakes to supply stamped and addressed post cards containing the form of notice,

to any medical practitioner or midwife in the area. The penalty for failure to certify is not to exceed 20 shillings. Following up the notice, the Medical Officer of Health for the town instructs the woman health visitor or nurse to call upon the mother at the earliest possible moment; and to ascertain whether she needs any advice or assistance, and to take the necessary steps to insure that for the first few months, at all events, regular visits shall be paid to the house. A great deal of loss of life is due to ignorance or carelessness on the part of the mother, and the mere fact that the city authority displays such interest in the life of a child and furnishes simple information in order to secure that it is properly fed and cared for, is often quite sufficient to secure the desired end. That this is so is proved by the statistics which are now available.

It must not be forgotten that the President of the Local Government Board, Mr. John Burns, has by his zeal and interest in this question made the working of this Act a complete success.

From 1896 to 1909 the death rate for children under one year, per thousand births, varied from 163 to 109, and the following table will show the effect of the Notification of Births Act which was passed in 1907.

ENGLAND AND WALES

YEAR	DEATHS OF CHILDREN UNDER ONE YEAR TO 1000 BIRTHS
1901	151
1902	133
1903	132
1904	145
1905	128
1906	132
1907	118
1908	120
1909	109
1910	106

It will be seen that the death rate fell from 132 to 118, and has since fallen to 109, an almost conclusive proof of the effect of this useful piece of legislation.¹ In the same way with children under 5 years of age, the death rate has declined from 58.5 per 1000 in 1898 to 40.6 in 1908, and there is great probability of a still further decrease in the immediate future, owing to greater medical care and the increased number of health visitors. In all, 195 areas of local government have adopted the

¹It ought, however, to be remembered that the summers in recent years have been wet, and therefore favorable to infant life. The summer of 1911 will show, in all probability, worse results.

Notification of Births Act, including the whole of the administrative county of London. As soon as the Act has been in operation for a few years in all the large towns, especially the big manufacturing and industrial centers, we may hope still further to reduce the waste of infant life.

There is one other direction in which the government has taken an important step. Until recently, municipal milk depots could only be established in very special cases, and therefore, however rigorous the supervision and inspection of cows' milk, it was often not possible to obtain it in quite the right form or of the right quality. The few municipal depots that have been established have, undoubtedly, helped to combat the causes which are most destructive of infant life. The Local Government Board has now stated that it will not hesitate to sanction the establishment of municipal milk depots in districts where the death rate is very high, or where a pure milk supply is not easily obtainable. The appointment of Medical Officers in all the country districts — which will be the result of the Housing and Town Planning Act — will also insure a more rigid and careful inspection of the sources of our milk supply in England. This is a matter

almost entirely under our own control, and so great is its importance that should the local authorities fail in this work of inspection, it is only a matter of time before the State steps in and takes entire control of this important industry. The outworks of the citadel have been captured. The innermost defenses will, before long, be carried, and a powerful democracy will assert that the care of the infant is one of the chief duties of a great and free people.

We have witnessed a corresponding improvement in the treatment of the little child, and especially the school child. Most countries exclude children from school who are not six years of age, and, up to quite recently, attendance in school in England was compulsory at the age of five, but a new regulation in the last code makes it possible for local educational authorities to exclude all children under five, and there is much medical opinion in favor of this course. The weakness of this proposition is seen by an examination of very young children who are attending a well-managed school in a poor district, as compared with those who are compelled to stay at home. When everything that can be said is said against the school, it is probably better than the home of the poor child, and now

that the feeding of necessitous children and the medical inspection of all children makes it impossible for the child, however ill-fed or uncared for at home, to be utterly neglected, there is little difficulty in deciding upon which side the social reformer will throw the weight of his influence. What seems to be required in all poor districts is some modification of the school system, by which school nurseries can be substituted for the more expensive provision furnished by the ordinary elementary school. The Board of Education, seeing the benefit which would be obtained by the pure air, the more hygienic surrounding of the school nursery, as compared with many homes, has expressed its willingness to sanction special infant schools, limited to children under five years of age, where there need be no formal instruction. In addition to this, by the new Education Act of 1907, educational authorities may provide play centers for children attending elementary schools. It is not unlikely that such educational nurseries might be included in the definition of play centers in which the principles of Pestalozzi and Froebel would be exemplified. Even little children under the age of five would, in all probability, benefit by

the few hours a day in a glorified nursery, with its games and fairy tales, its simple meal consisting of a glass of hot milk and a biscuit, and its opportunities for rest and sleep. Not only would the children themselves benefit, but the nurseries might become important training grounds for young girls, in the care of children. The great weakness of the life among the working classes is the lack of knowledge on the part of the young mother, who has not been taught even the simplest and most elementary facts with regard to child life. To remedy this lack, instruction is now being given at considerably over 100 centers in combined domestic subjects, apart altogether from ordinary classes in cooking, housewifery, and laundry work. The care of the child occupies a very important place in the combined domestic subjects, and we now hope soon to see the effect of this teaching.

A great deal of attention is being given to the hygiene of the school. It is recognized that the child and its environment act and re-act upon one another. Accordingly, the questions of ventilation, of lighting, of warming, and of cleansing the school are not unimportant, especially when we remember the conditions which prevail in the homes of the

poor. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the ill effect that improper or insufficient food and unhygienic surroundings have upon the life of the school child. He does not benefit by the costly instruction which is given, because of malnutrition, as seen by his impoverished blood and dwarfed physique. The medical inspection which has already been carried out has demonstrated in a striking fashion the connection between poverty and physical health. One of the most interesting reports ever issued is that supplied by Dr. Leslie Mackenzie of Glasgow in 1907. An examination was made into the physical condition of all the 72,857 children attending public schools of that city. That examination showed what proportion of the children lived in one-, two-, three-, and four-room tenements, and their respective weights and heights:

8.1 per cent or 5,922 children lived in 1 room tenements.
57.8 per cent or 43,100 children lived in 2 room tenements.
24.2 per cent or 17,648 children lived in 3 room tenements.
9.9 per cent or 7,188 children lived in 4 room tenements.

These children were also classified in respect to their heights and weights, side by side with the number of rooms occupied, and the figures afford a

vivid picture of the effect of poverty on height and weight :

One Room —		HEIGHT	WEIGHT
Boys		46.6 inches	52.6 pounds
Girls		46.3 inches	51.5 pounds
Two Rooms —			
Boys		48.1 inches	56.1 pounds
Girls		47.8 inches	54.8 pounds
Three Rooms —			
Boys		50.0 inches	60.6 pounds
Girls		49.6 inches	59 4 pounds
Four Rooms —			
Boys		51.3 inches	64.3 pounds
Girls		51.6 inches	65.5 pounds

Dr. Mackenzie adds: "It cannot be an accident that boys from two-roomed houses should be 11.7 pounds lighter on an average than boys from four-roomed houses, and 4.7 inches smaller. Neither is it an accident that girls from one-roomed houses are on the average 14 pounds lighter and 5.3 inches shorter than girls from four-roomed houses." This brings clearly before our minds the importance of a sufficient supply of good and wholesome food, as well as the importance of the housing conditions. In our large towns something like 50 per cent of the children would come under the heading of "indifferent nutrition." The more this question

is studied, the more certain will it appear that our Education Acts and our whole educational system will be a failure in poor districts until we have insured the proper feeding and medical inspection of the children. Fortunately, every local authority can, if it sees fit, immediately adopt the Education (Provision of Meals) Act of 1906, and the adoption of that Act, provided the educational authority were sufficiently enlightened, would, beyond doubt, mean an immense improvement in the physical condition of necessitous children. The Act, however, is optional, and not compulsory, and even when adopted is not always carried out on sound lines. It is not enough to say that a child shall be fed at school provided that, in the opinion of the teachers, it seems to be ill nourished. An enlightened educational authority, working under the Act, will make provision for feeding as large a number of poor children as possible, using its powers to collect the cost from the parents where they are able to pay. As a guide and a help in the work of selecting these children, we now have an elaborate system of medical inspection; the results of that inspection will quickly make it evident where a child is deteriorating in physique,



and where it is capable of benefiting by the education which is given to it. A very interesting experiment in the direction of feeding children who had been previously examined, was made at Bradford in 1907 by Dr. Crowley, who is now Assistant Medical Officer in the Education Department. Both the children and the dinners were carefully selected — the children being given two simple meals a day for four weeks. During that four weeks their average increase was six ounces per week, the first week giving the extraordinary figure of an average gain per child of one pound four ounces. The average gain of these same children for the week previous to their school feeding was one quarter of an ounce. Without dwelling upon the moral and mental benefit of meals served in cleanly and dainty fashion, the improvement in physique is, in itself, sufficient to convince us that the most democratic Parliament which has ever assembled at Westminster did not go too far, but perhaps hardly far enough, in its provision for the feeding of school children.

The results of that section of the Education Act of 1907, which dealt with medical inspection, are just beginning to be seen. By this Act medical

inspection of school children is made compulsory upon every local authority, and there has been already a great diminution in the number of school days that are lost owing to sickness and disease. The children who have been medically inspected — especially those passing out of school — have been advised as to the nature of the occupation in which they should engage, while those who have entered school have been helped to an appropriate course of education. There can be no doubt, however, that the strongest argument in favor of medical inspection is that it discovers the physical defects of children at a very early stage when there is some possibility of cure — defects which, if uncured,^m will become permanently disabling. This is the argument, of course, which carries most weight with those who are anxious to make healthy citizens. More than 6,000,000 children are subject to medical inspection, and in 1910 over 2,000,000 children were examined. No less than 10 per cent of these were found to have defective vision, and from 3 to 5 per cent, defective hearing. Eight per cent had adenoids or enlarged tonsils, and one per cent, in some cases rising to 4 per cent, were suffering from tuberculosis in a readily recognizable form.

Some 40 per cent had extensive decay of their teeth, while no less than 60,000 children were discovered to be suffering from tuberculosis, and an equal number from heart disease.

There are 322 Local Education areas in England, and each of these must have (under the new legislation) a recognized school Medical Officer, who may be, and indeed is, in 237 cases, the Medical Officer of Health for the area. In about one half the areas, the school Medical Officer is carrying out all the medical work without medical assistance, but in the remaining 151 areas, 781 Medical Officers or Assistant Medical Officers, have been appointed, so that there are now in England and Wales 995 Medical Officers in the school medical service. Nearly fifty of these authorities have appointed lady Medical Officers, and there are in all seventy-nine women doctors engaged in this work. Up to the present, however, valuable as the school nurse is, only 176 authorities have appointed nurses and health visitors in connection with medical inspection, making a total in all of about 340 nurses. The services of a nurse are indispensable, if full advantage is to be taken of the new legislation. The regulations provide, in the first place, that only

those who are entering and leaving school shall be medically inspected; but even so, something like 1,750,000 is the estimated number of children to be medically inspected in England and Wales, and there are a large number of special cases, probably numbering not less than a quarter of a million.

When we remember that the real difficulty in the case of the very poor is obtaining adequate medical attendance, we are impressed by the possibilities of great and substantial benefit to the children which are contained in these one or two clauses of an Act of Parliament. There is little doubt that the earlier regulations with regard to medical examination will eventually be extended, so as to make such examinations more frequent, and already it is said that a marked improvement has been discerned in the condition of those children under the control of an educational authority fully alive to the importance of a thorough and scientific inspection.

It must be followed up by medical treatment if the work is to be successful, and this, notwithstanding the suggestion that medical treatment is an encouragement to the parents to neglect their own responsibility. The more democratic and far-

reaching are the steps taken to secure the health of the child, the more likely is it that the parents will be aroused to the sense of their own duty. The constant pressure of public opinion, and the steady but kindly constraint imposed by the educational authority, will do more in a few years than all the preaching in the world. Let the parents witness for a short time the great improvement which will be effected by medical treatment, and they will become converts, not only to the doctrine of State aid for the school child, but also to the principle that the fathers and mothers of children must bear their fair share of responsibility. "One of the objects of the new legislation," says the Board of Education, "is to stimulate a sense of duty in matters affecting health in the homes of the people, to enlist the best services and interests of the parents, and to educate a sense of responsibility for the personal hygiene of their children. The increased work undertaken by the State for the individual will mean that the parents have not to do less for themselves and their children, but more. It is in the home, in fact, that both the seed and the fruit of public health are to be found."¹ Mean-

¹ Chief Medical Officer's Report (1909).

while some thirty of the local authorities have established school clinics, in this respect following the example of Germany and New York. Many local authorities, while not adopting the optional powers intrusted to them of medical treatment, have, nevertheless, devised cleansing schemes for children who are dirty or verminous, and are giving much attention to the condition of the teeth. In the main, however, up to the present, the children who have been found to be medically defective, have had recourse, either to the Poor Law doctor or to the hospital, or to some general practitioner or to the aid of nurses and health visitors. The Insurance Bill of Mr. Lloyd George, by means of grants to local authorities for this purpose, will greatly encourage the work of medical treatment.

We ought not to forget that side by side with medical inspection is growing up a system of school baths, and municipal swimming baths. One town at least, namely, Bradford in Yorkshire, can show school baths that are as good as anything in Germany, but for the most part we have been content with swimming baths belonging to the municipalities and used exclusively by children at certain hours. There can be no doubt as to the moral and

physical effect of regular and systematic bathing, side by side with the many other efforts that are being made to raise the standard of child life.

For the weak and debilitated child, open-air schools — somewhat on the lines of the famous Charlottenburg experiment — are being established. London has at least two, while half a dozen other towns, including Bradford, Sheffield, Halifax, and Norwich, have established on the outskirts of their areas, generally in close proximity to a forest, these beneficial institutions. Manchester has her Council school at Knoll's Green in Cheshire, at which the children stay for a few weeks at a time. Generally speaking, we may say that special schools for ailing or defective children will, in the future, be established outside the town limits, possibly in the country, and the community will gladly bear the increased cost that is thereby incurred. The whole idea of caring for the child is in keeping with the democratic spirit of the age, the spirit which has regard even for the weakest and the least, the spirit which considers prevention to be better than cure, and therefore holds it to be the truest economy to take such steps as will remove the evils that attack the child life of the State.

An immense change which is expressed in the new Children's Act has come over England in respect of its treatment of Poor Law children, the child worker, and the child criminal. Let us look at a few of the gains that have been made in England. The disgrace of child labor has not been completely obliterated, although the right of the State, over against that of the employer or the parent, has more strictly limited cheap labor. However much such labor may be regarded as a necessity, it is a mistaken policy.

There are three sections of child workers, even under the most recent Acts :

- (1) Half-timers, from 12 to 14 years of age.
- (2) Children between 13 and 14 who have qualified as "young persons" and are allowed to work full time.
- (3) "Young persons" in the ordinary sense, from 14 to 18

Children and young persons under 16 must obtain certificates before they can be employed in a factory, and nearly 400,000 are engaged in this way. Of "half-timers" proper, about 20,000 boys and a similar number of girls would be found to be granted certificates in any one year. We must remember that these figures do not cover the child labor employed in shops, or domestic industries, so that

they are only a very faint indication of the magnitude and persistence of the problem that still faces us as a nation. Saturday and Sunday work for little children, street trading for something like 20,000 children, the long hours of some 80,000 little ones engaged in shops, have been found on investigation to have led to much physical and moral deterioration, while the wages are altogether disproportionate to the immense amount of harm inflicted on the child. The policy of the present government is to cut down child labor ; to raise the school age ; to make education in some sense compulsory up to the age of 16, and, finally, to insist upon some technical instruction or manual training which will allow of entry to a skilled industry later on in life. A new Bill has recently been introduced by the Minister of Education, dealing with School and Continuation class attendance. The principal objects of this Bill are to abolish the existing half-time system, to enable local education authorities to compel attendance at continuation classes up to the age of 16 in the case of children who have ceased to attend a public elementary school, and to make 14 the normal age for leaving school when this compulsion is not applied. The

obligation to attend school is to be universal up to the age of 13, and statutory instead of dependent on local by-laws. Beyond that age every child must either continue to attend school up to the age of 14, or (when the principle of compulsion to attend continuation classes up to the age of 16 has been adopted in the locality) obtain special exemption from attendance at school on the ground that he is about to enter into beneficial employment. Apart, however, from these proposals, the Employment of Children Act, 1903, does give some general protection, and, at the same time, allows local authorities to regulate the employment of children in their own areas. Thus section 3 of the Act provides:

(1) A child shall not be employed between the hours of nine in the evening and six in the morning. Provided that any local authority may, by by-laws, vary these hours either generally or for any specified occupation.

(2) A child under the age of eleven years shall not be employed in street trading.

(3) No child who is employed half-time under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, shall be employed in any other occupation.

(4) A child shall not be employed to lift, carry or move anything so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to the child.

(5) A child shall not be employed in any occupation likely to be injurious to his life, limb, health, or education, regard being had to his physical condition.

Birmingham, perhaps, is the most enlightened authority in the administration of this Act, although London has done much to carry out its provisions. The question is of national importance, for, while Germany has so coördinated all her methods of education and her system of compulsory evening and day schools that in many cases her boys and girls do not fully escape the educational authorities until they have reached the age of 18, we, in England, have allowed a large class of waifs and street traders to grow up uncared for and untaught, a class destined to swell the ranks of the unemployed and the social inefficient.

The child who is under the control of the Poor Law has a better chance, for even although 21,000 children out of the 68,000 under the control of the Poor Law authorities are still reared and trained in workhouses and workhouse schools; yet, the result of the Poor Law Commission has been to create so healthy a public opinion that every Poor Law authority is putting its house in order and attempting to remedy the worst of the evils which have existed in the past. There is a growing feeling that the best way of dealing with the Poor Law child is to take it out of large institutions and

barrack schools, and place it in an ordinary home, so that the child may grow up freed from the taint of pauperism, sharing the life of other children, and receiving from its foster parents such assistance as they are able to render. The system, provided that the home is well chosen and adequate instruction imparted, is perhaps better than all the costly artificial methods that can possibly be devised. The methods which have been employed in the past for dealing with these children are :

- (1) District Schools.
- (2) District Communities.
- (3) Scattered Homes.
- (4) The system of boarding out.

The "scattered home" system which originated in the town of Sheffield fifteen years ago has been imitated by over seventy Unions. The children in each home are of both sexes, and of ages from three to eight for boys and from three to thirteen for girls, and the foster mother, so far as possible, is made to feel that she is responsible in every respect for their physical and moral health. The system is somewhat more costly than the boarding-out system, but it seems to have acquired considerable popularity in England. The main

points to be kept in view in dealing with these children are, first, the importance of making their life a natural and normal one, and, secondly, the desirability of regular and systematic inspection, and such guidance and assistance as can be afforded by the frequent visits of a ladies' committee and women with medical qualifications.

An immense change has come over the treatment of the juvenile offender — a change which is partly due, at any rate, to the splendid work which has been done in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The work of men like Judge Lindsey in the United States is too well known to need either reference or emphasis, but beyond a doubt it is due to reformers of his type that the old unscientific treatment of juvenile crime has almost entirely vanished. One hundred years ago even children of tender years were placed in the same category as the adult in all classes of felony, and suffered the extreme penalty of the law for such a crime as stealing. In the prisons children, associated with adult criminals convicted of the worst offenses, were contaminated by such intercourse, and eventually reached a stage themselves when reformation was impossible.

All this has been changed: two Acts of Parliament have been passed dealing with juvenile offenders — (1) the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907, and (2) the Children's Act, 1908. Roughly speaking, as a result of this new spirit which has been imparted to the criminal code, we may now describe our methods as reformatory instead of punitive. We do not despair even of the adult criminal, but the child at least has now the opportunity of growing up to become a useful citizen.

The three reforms of greatest value are:

(1) The arranging of separate places of detention for children awaiting trial, that is to say, special homes in which boys and girls can be detained until their trial.

(2) The necessity of hearing the cases of children in a children's court, not necessarily constructed for such cases, but reserved exclusively for them, and

(3) The appointment of probation officers whose business it is to keep in touch with the child; to see that the conditions of recognizance are observed; to advise and befriend him; and when necessary, to endeavor to find him suitable employment.

The main thing is that the probation officer should act on humane and rational principles, and remember that the fatherly and friendly attitude of mind in dealing with these young people is the method which is more likely to produce reformation than

any other. Wherever the children's court has been adopted and accompanied by the appointment of probation officers, there has been a marked diminution of juvenile crime. Both in New York and Chicago this system has been most successful, and England is very rapidly following in the footsteps of these two great American cities.

There is only one other point which must be mentioned in the treatment of children, and that is the method of dealing with the potential hooligan by means of reformatory and industrial schools. We have now in England over fifty reformatory schools and one hundred and forty-two industrial schools. A large number of these are under voluntary control, and their management often leaves much to be desired, but the great weakness of this system is that the accommodation is altogether inadequate and insufficient. The result is that large numbers of boys and girls who are somewhat weak-minded, and therefore more liable to become criminals, have either been turned out of these schools or refused admission. The State must come to the rescue of these outcasts, and construct and maintain on its own account a large number of new schools designed to deal with this class of child.

Supervision and attention should be continued up to the age of eighteen, and the very best medical advice should be called in for each child. Voluntary societies which have done good work in the past should be further encouraged and strengthened in their beneficent tasks, and all that is haphazard, unsystematic, and unscientific in our methods should be eliminated.

Finally, the child question cannot be treated apart from other and larger questions of social reform. If ever we are to save the child, we must attack the housing problem, the problem of unemployment and casual labor, and put an end to the evil conditions and the degrading atmosphere of slum life. At present we are moving in a vicious circle. We build up with one hand and pull down with the other. Any government worthy of the name to-day must have a great constructive policy of social reform upon all sides, in order that this blot of a degraded child life may be removed from the national escutcheon.

THE PROBLEM OF SWEATING

FOR many years the question of Sweating, especially in home industries, has perplexed the minds of British statesmen, but it was not until 1909 that any real attempt was made (apart from factory legislation) to remove the worst evils resulting from overemployment and underpayment. The Trade Boards Act of that year, modeled to some extent upon the remedial legislation already in force in Victoria (Australia), is a first step in the direction of State interference with wages so far as the individual employer is concerned.

The term "sweating" is so vague that it may be as well to define what is intended by economists when they use that expression. At the time of Charles Kingsley it was applied to a system of sub-contract, in which the middleman was in the habit of cutting down the wages of the workers to the lowest point possible. The more hopeless they were and the more unorganized, the more pressure was put upon them to accept a small wage and to work under insanitary conditions. This somewhat

narrow use of the term has now disappeared in England, or, at any rate, has been superseded, since there are many sweated trades in which there is no subcontractor and no middleman. A wider and more correct definition is that stated in the Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed in 1888 to investigate this subject. This Report, which appeared in 1890, states that without being able to assign an exact meaning to "sweating," the evils known by that name were shown to be:

- (1) An unduly low rate of wages.
- (2) Excessive hours of labor.
- (3) The insanitary state of the houses in which work was carried on.

It is not improbable that many of the evils of sweating are survivals of the industrialism which preceded the factory system, but the beginnings of the industrial revolution were accompanied not only by long hours and low wages, but by the complete degradation and misery of women and children. Professor J. S. Nicholson in the "Effect of Machinery upon Wages," commenting upon the conditions which prevailed in those days, says, "England's apparent prosperity was like the luxu-

rious vegetation which rises from the poisonous swamps of the Tropics : at a distance, to the casual observer, her trade thrived and prospered, but below it rested on the absolute misery of thousands of her inhabitants."

The early steps that were taken from 1890 onwards to regulate the hours of work for women and children, the self-sacrificing efforts of men like Oastler, Hobhouse, Sadler, Charles Kingsley, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, did result in a considerable improvement of their conditions, but we have only to read the Report of the Commission on Children's Employment (1862-1866), to discover how slow was the process of reform and how many were the abuses to which these children were subjected. It was during the years 1888-1889, when the House of Lords Committee made the inquiries already referred to, that attention was attracted to the question and public opinion began to make itself felt. All the evidence went to show that there had been no exaggeration of the terrible evils accompanying labor in many trades, and the lives of the lowest class of workers were almost unbearable. Ceaseless toil, scanty wages, conditions insanitary and injurious to health, had been so com-

mon as to be unnoticed, and even to-day, although the extent of the evil has been lessened, there is still for vast masses of men, women, and children, intense misery and suffering. We owe it partly to the exhibitions of sweated industries held in Berlin, by the *Daily News* in London and afterwards in British provincial towns, that the first real attempt was made to deal with one aspect, at least, of this problem; that is, the unduly low rate of wages paid to the sweated workers.

We often say that every one should receive a living wage or such a minimum wage as would enable the wage earner to purchase at least the necessities of life and to maintain himself or herself in a fair state of efficiency. The living wage naturally varies in accordance with the cost entailed of being kept efficient. It varies, obviously, as between an adult, young person, or child. "Any stinting of necessities," says Professor Alfred Marshall, "is wasteful. We now recognize that a distinction must be made between the necessities for efficiency and the necessities for existence; and that there is for each rank of industry, at any time and place, a more or less clearly defined income which is necessary for merely sustaining its members; while

there is another and larger income which is necessary for keeping it in full efficiency." Various estimates have been made of what is necessary for the efficiency of an ordinary unskilled laborer, as well as for a skilled artisan, and although these estimates may vary in detail, in the main they are agreed. Mr. Seebohm Rowntree estimates, in his book on "Poverty," that for an average family of man and wife and three children the minimum necessary expenditure per week in York, on the lowest possible basis, would be 21 shillings 8 pence. This allows nothing whatever for traveling, recreation, luxuries of any kind, or payments for insurance against sickness and death. Moreover, since that estimate was made, the cost of living has increased by at least 2 shillings a week, so that a pound a week is only worth 18 shillings to the workingman. It is estimated that the minimum wage for a woman in a provincial town in England should be from 14 shillings to 16 shillings per week, and here, again, the evidence is overwhelming, that, apart from the factory towns in the north of England (especially in the textile trades), it is only selected women who attain even to this minimum standard. The unskilled

woman's wage is about 10 shillings a week. As to long hours, this much may be said, that the firms paying the highest wages, as a rule, employ their workers for the shortest number of hours. So far as women and girls are concerned, the legal maximum of 10 hours a day is probably the standard, although, of course, this does not apply to home industries where the hours may be anything from 8 to 18.

The investigations of Mr. Charles Booth, as well as the researches of Mr. Rowntree already alluded to, afford some idea of the extraordinary extent of underpaid labor. Mr. Charles Booth estimates that in London some 30.7 of the people are in poverty, while the classification given for York shows that 33.6 per cent of the working classes earn from 21 to 31 shillings a week, and about 4400 people in a comparatively small town like York were earning on the average 15 shillings and 1 penny per week.

The general conclusion to which we must come is that the unskilled laborer in the United Kingdom is a sweated worker; he does not obtain a wage sufficient to enable him to maintain himself and his wife and family in a state of efficiency. The result

is that the children degenerate, growing up to become not able-bodied and intelligent workmen, but unemployables, both mentally and physically defective. As to the women (especially those who are engaged in home work), it would be safe to say that the tailoring, shirt making, chain making, match-box making, and a vast variety of other trades are so underpaid that the women cannot, even by working twelve or fourteen hours a day, earn a subsistence wage, nor have they any "Trade-unions" which would offer a check to the constant cutting of wages for piecework. The Trade Boards Act is intended to deal with this difficulty. It is sometimes said that these women cannot do other work, and that therefore it is to their advantage to earn such wages as are possible, small though they be. This is the fallacy which underlies the defense of all sweated labor. It does not in the least follow that, because wages are low and the hours long, that any increase in wages or decrease in the hours would mean either a diminution in the output or an increase in the cost of production. Let us further ask ourselves whether it is good for the community as a whole that it should protect the helpless victims of unrestricted competition,

and if so, whether it is advisable to have recourse in any instance to the somewhat drastic remedy of legislation for fixing a rate of wages. The manufacturer argues that if wages are increased he will be unable to sell his goods at a low price, and that, therefore, he will have to decrease the output or increase the cost to the general community. It is rather a large assumption to say that the increase of wages would mean a rise in price in *all* cases, but even if it were true that the consumer would have to pay more for an article which at present is being produced under sweated conditions, it may rightly be contended that the community would benefit in several ways, but chiefly in the improved health and well-being of the workers engaged in this industry, who otherwise would gradually tend to become a burden upon the charitably disposed, or to have recourse to the Poor Law authorities. Because we do not always realize the evil effects of the system, it does not follow that they are non-existent, and it would certainly be an interesting experiment if the antecedents of all the women who are at present receiving Poor Law relief could be investigated with a view to ascertaining how far they have been brought to their present condi-

tion by underpayment and consequent diminished vitality. Any loss in productive efficiency is a direct economic loss to the nation. The whole problem of poverty in relation to sweating is of importance in the light of this fact.

The children of sweated parents have been shown in thousands of cases to have been suffering from diseases largely the result of malnutrition. These children, who both in height and weight compare unfavorably with the average school child, not only fail as citizens later on in life, but, by reason of the fact that they are unable to assimilate the education which is imparted to them, are simply wasting the large sums of money expended for this purpose. You cannot separate the question of wages from the whole complex subject of social environment. If workers are underpaid, their lives are spent in a vain attempt to manufacture bricks without straw. It is a physical impossibility that they should be able to compete with those who are well fed and well housed, and the result is a tendency to still further lower the standard, until in the end we arrive at a vast mass of poverty and misery unmitigated by even the hope that in the future the sufferers will be able to raise themselves to a state of independ-

ence and healthy living. If the degradation of labor is carried to a certain point, it may be expected that self-respect and social ambition, and the hopefulness which accompanies them both, will eventually disappear. Whether it be charity, or the Poor Law, that comes to the relief of the sweated worker, neither offers anything more than a palliative for the time being. If assistance from the rates or from some charity means that the worker is able to continue to find occupation at a wage far lower than the trade should pay, that trade eventually becomes parasitic. The employer obtains labor on such terms as imply that his wages are being eked out from other sources. He himself is able to compete unfairly with employers who pay *good* wages, while his workers tend inevitably to find a lower level year by year, until at last even he can offer them no employment. It would be as well for us to consider for a short time what are the causes which produce sweating in certain industries, and what remedies can be applied for the cure of this evil which crushes the life out of so many thousands of our fellow men.

Perhaps the first and chief cause is lack of organization. There is no ability to refuse a contract so

far as the sweated worker is concerned. The employer may refuse to accept the terms offered by the workman, and may indeed suffer inconvenience as a result, but the workman who delays to find a market for his labor cannot go on living as before; he must obtain money to meet his weekly rent, and buy food for his family. If he belongs to no organization, and if the competition for labor in his trade is severe, he is compelled by starvation to accept not what his work is really worth, but what he can obtain from the employer in competition with other men and women who are out of a job, — and equally pressed by hunger and want. The very fact that he is not organized shows that he lacks independence and is apathetic. The greater his apathy and ignorance the more likely are his wages to sink even below the subsistence level. No matter how large the income may be which the master piles up as a result of the employment of this cheap labor, it is very unlikely, in the great majority of cases, that he will go out of his way to pay any higher wage than that which is rendered necessary by competition in the labor market. Where there is some trades-union organization and the power of collective bargaining, there is always

the possibility of maintaining the standard level of wages, even in times of depressed trade, but where no such organization exists, a keen competition between badly paid men and women invariably results in reduction of wages for the unskilled, and sometimes affects wages in the higher grades of labor.

This whole argument especially applies to women who accept their hard conditions in a kind of fatalistic spirit. If a woman takes the place of a man, she readily accepts a much lower wage for the same work, and she is not at all surprised when some other woman or girl, to whom the wage may be an absolute necessity, steps in and offers to cut even these low rates. The widow will sometimes make a lower bid because she is receiving help from the Poor Law or from charity. The girl, living in her own home and looking forward to marriage as a way of escape, will accept a low wage for the time being in the hope that it will soon be unnecessary for her to work at all. The married woman not dependent on the money she earns will often undercut the genuine worker. The anomalies in the wages of women are far more striking than in the cases of men, and it is clear therefore that no permanent

reform can be expected, no adequate wage can be obtained, while they are apathetic and disorganized. To this we may add in many cases an ignorance which is appalling, for it is no uncommon thing to find two women living in the same street, doing exactly the same work at piecework rates, and yet one receiving a wage almost twice as large as the other.

We have mentioned only the question of wage, but in dealing with small workshops we have also to remember that both men and women in these trades suffer physically as a result of long hours and insanitary conditions. Any attempt to remedy these evils is sure to fail just for the same reason that a demand for a higher wage fails. The hard conditions to which the workers are subjected, compel them to accept, even to the detriment of their health, whatever terms are thrust upon them by one who is in a position to employ their labor.

Alien immigration may have an effect in intensifying competition in certain trades and is doubtless the cause of a certain amount of sweating, especially in the cheap tailoring trade. Naturally, the ambition of the Jew is to become a master as

speedily as possible, and as a small master he is sometimes hard and tyrannical; he certainly is a great believer in low wages when it becomes a question of paying others. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that sweating in England — with the exception perhaps of the East End of London and one or two provincial towns — is to any large extent the result of alien immigration. There can be little doubt that if the whole of the alien labor were excluded, sweating would not cease, since we find it at the present moment in districts where there is practically no foreign element. At the same time it must be remembered that legislative action would affect the foreign worker equally with his own countryman, and the trades which have already been scheduled in the Trades Board Act are, in two cases at least, trades in which there is a good deal of foreign labor.

The Select Committee of the House of Lords summed up the situation with regard to low wages in the following passage:

“It may be said that the inefficiency of the workers, early marriage, and the tendency of the residuum of the population in large towns to form a helpless community, together with a low standard

of life and the excessive supply of unskilled labor, are the chief factors in producing sweating. Moreover, a large supply of cheap female labor is available by reason of the fact that married women working at unskilled labor in their homes, in the intervals between attending to their domestic duties and not wholly supporting themselves, can afford to work at what would be starvation wages to unmarried women. Such being the conditions of the labor market, abundant materials exist to supply the unscrupulous employer with his wretched dependent workers.”¹

It is this condition of things which we trust will be remedied, and which to some extent has already been remedied in Australia by legislative interference.

It would perhaps be as well to say a few words about the possibility of dealing with the evil by some other method than that of legislation. Labor organizations, Consumers' Leagues, and the Co-operative Movement have all been suggested as methods that have a certain value. With regard to trade-unions for these unskilled, unorganized

¹ Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System (1890), P. cvxxv.

workers, there is a general feeling that it is impossible to find any common basis of union and action. It is true that some classes of women — especially the upper grades of the industrial world — have made great progress in the direction of organizing themselves, but, on the whole, it would be true to say that they only throw into relief the condition of the lowest ranks, where every effort has failed to promote and maintain the spirit of coöperation. There is no community of interest amongst these poverty-stricken workers, compelled by want and sheer necessity; any incipient organization is speedily disintegrated and finally broken into fragments. It is difficult not to be pessimistic with regard to unskilled labor, whether male or female. All that can be said is that where success has attended the efforts of the labor organizers, and the spirit of self-restraint and comradeship has taken possession of the workers, there, large and immediate benefits have accrued. Consumers' Leagues have been suggested as one method of solving the problem, and in New York, where the Consumers' League has been warmly supported as a humanitarian movement by people of position and wealth, a good deal

of indirect success has attended their efforts. In the United Kingdom, however, the publication of a "White List," which is an English equivalent to a Consumers' League, does not seem to have had any great or lasting effect. The more complex the methods of modern production, the more likely it is that this attempt to abolish sweating will be futile, and indeed it would be difficult to point to a single instance where the sweated worker is really benefited by any such action. What is interesting to note is that the very effort to organize such a league as the Consumers' League indicates the change that has come over public opinion and the growing desire on the part of thoughtful and intelligent people to put an end to the wholly unnecessary hardships entailed upon the worker in certain industries.

The Coöperative Movement has also been alluded to, and here we are on perfectly safe ground so far as the workers in these trades are concerned. It cannot indeed be said that in every branch of co-operation the wages are always adequate and the conditions above reproach, but we may be sure that the working men and women who belong to these coöperative societies will not long remain passive

if the conditions under which their fellows work are unfair and unjust. The spread of the coöperative movement not only implies the crushing out of excessive competition within that movement, but also insures the growth of other organizations to which the reformer can appeal, and, finally, it means an educated democracy without which all legislation would be in vain.

The Trade Boards Act of 1909 was an immediate outcome of the Antisweating League, formed to secure a minimum wage. That league not only organized the Sweating Exhibition in connection with the *Daily News*, which was held in London and visited by 30,000 people, but it also organized a Conference at the Guildhall, London, at which two millions of organized workers were represented. The league itself practically adopted the suggestions of the late Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., and it was his experimental Bill that formed the basis for the government scheme. The ideas contained in that Bill were, in part at any rate, to be found in the system of Wages Boards first started in Victoria and then imitated by South Australia. It differs in some essential principles from the system of compulsory arbitration adopted in New Zealand.

New South Wales and Western Australia have both followed in the footsteps of that colony, although their measures have been modified to suit the conditions of their own countries.

Mr. W. Pember Reeves, the late Agent General for New Zealand, in his "State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand," has given us by far the best description of this legislation and its effects. In Victoria, the law regulating wages and fixing a minimum wage came into force on the 1st of October, 1896. "In no other colony," says Mr. Reeves, "at that time at any rate, could such a measure have become law, and only the Melbourne newspapers' courageous exposure of the sweating that had been going on year after year in that city and elsewhere in Victoria, confirmed by the evidence given before the Board of Inquiry, in 1893, and backed by the agitation of the Victoria Antisweating League, could have formed a public opinion ready to accept so strange and novel an experiment."

By the Act special Boards were appointed to fix wages and piecework rates for persons employed in making clothing or furniture, or in bread making or baking, or in the business of a butcher or a seller

of meat. Later on, by the Act of 1905, no regular trade could be included in the schedule except by a resolution passed by both Houses of Parliament. These Boards have no less than four and not more than ten members, with an impartial chairman. The Board is so constituted that half the members are representatives of the employers and the other half of the work people. Each member of the Board is paid a fee and traveling expenses. The Boards have power not only to fix wages, either by time or piecework, but also the hours of labor, and the number and wages of apprentices and improvers. Any decision of the Board can only be challenged in the Supreme Court. A large number of trades have now been included in the schedule.

On the other hand, the Industrial Arbitration Act of New Zealand, passed in 1894, and since amended some half-dozen times, was a law by which labor disputes are referred to State tribunals. The decision of these tribunals may have the force of law and be binding, not only on those concerned in the dispute, but also on all who are engaged in the trade in which the dispute has arisen. The award when once made lasts for three years. The advantages of the Act are obvious. In the first

place, there is compulsory publicity, and publicity is perhaps the greatest safeguard of the underpaid worker. In the second place, there is compulsory reference to an impartial tribunal, and, thirdly, there is compulsory obedience to the award of the Court. It is true that this Act has, in the main, been applied to trade disputes between employers and employed, and, generally speaking, to disputes in which highly organized workers are engaged, but it has an important bearing on sweated labor. Under the Act it is possible for any organization to appeal to a conciliation board, and finally to an arbitration court. In almost all sweated trades it would be possible to form some permanent organization, however small, which would represent that trade. This was the experience in New Zealand. The tailoresses, doing the same work as men, were, by the arbitration court, declared to be entitled to the same pay as men, and under the award they gained an immediate increase of wages, estimated at fifteen per cent. The decision, moreover, could not be disputed for three years, at the end of which time there was much less likelihood of a reduction taking place. Many other illustrations could be given of the benefits conferred by this Act upon

unskilled labor, both male and female, in New Zealand. There is probably no country in the world where the minimum wage for such labor is so high or the conditions so satisfactory. The New Zealand Arbitration Act has, however, not commended itself to English trade-unionists up to the present time, who are strongly opposed to compulsory arbitration. In the no very distant future, a change of opinion will lead to the adoption of some modifications at least of that Act, but it was thought wiser to base the English measure upon the method adopted by Victoria in its Wages Board.

The Trade Boards Act of 1909 resembles in many respects the colonial scheme. The Trade Board fixes a minimum rate of wages for time work, and a general minimum rate of wages for piece-work in certain trades. Six months' notice is given to the trade concerned, that a rate, obligatory in all cases, will be enforced, and that rate holds good until it is revoked, such revocation being made possible by a general order of the Board of Trade to the Trade Board after giving three months' notice. Penalties can be enforced for not paying wages in accordance with the minimum rate which

has been made obligatory. The most important section so far as sweated workers are concerned is Clause 10 of the Act :

(1) Any worker or any person authorized by a worker may complain to the Trade Board that the wages paid to the worker by any employer in any case to which any minimum rate is fixed by the Trade Board is applicable are at a rate less than the minimum rate, and the Trade Board shall consider the matter, and may, if they think fit, take any proceedings under this Act on behalf of the worker.

(2) Before taking any proceedings under this Act on behalf of the worker, a Trade Board may, and on the first occasion on which proceedings are contemplated by the Trade Board against an employer they shall take reasonable steps to bring the case to the notice of the employer, with a view to the settlement of the case without recourse to proceedings.

As in Victoria, the Board is constituted by putting upon it employers and workers in equal numbers, but in addition representative members are elected or nominated in accordance with the regulations. The chairman of the Board is appointed by the Board of Trade, as is also the secretary. The Trade Board may establish district Trade Committees acting for such areas as the Trade Board may determine. In this case, also, there is provision for the equal representation of local employers and local workers. The trades at the

present moment scheduled are the ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring trades, the making of boxes, or parts thereof, of paper, cardboard, chip or similar material, machine-made lace and net finishing, and mending or darning operations of lace curtain finishing, hammered and dollied or tommied chain making. Finally, "the Board of Trade may make a Provisional Order applying this Act to any specified trade to which it does not at the time apply, if they are satisfied that the rate of wages prevailing in any branch of the trade is exceptionally low, as compared with that of other employments, and that the other circumstances of the trade are such as to render the application of the Act to the trade expedient."

The one criticism that may be made of the Act is that it seems to be a comparatively slow and cumbrous method of affording relief to the sweated worker. If the officials who will have an important part to play in each trade, desire to create delays or in any way to hinder the settlement of an appeal, it seems only too probable that they could render the Act of doubtful value. At the same time it must be admitted that the average English official is fairly impartial, and would throw his influence

upon the side of the employees if the conditions under which they worked were obviously unfair or unjust.

Public opinion is on the side of the sweated workers. Both Houses of Parliament have expressed their sympathy. There is scarcely a man who will venture to get up in the House of Commons and defend the lower wages which prevail in certain industries. We have good reason to hope, therefore, that the administration of the Act, which has already sensibly improved the wages and conditions of labor in certain trades, will do much to remove some of the worst evils that have oppressed this large class of the community. The regulation of wages will lead to the registration of all places where work is done, to better sanitary conditions, to a more humane treatment of the outworker. The welfare of the State demands that the experiment should be made, and it is to our common interest to insure that the experiment is successful.

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED

THE problem of the unemployed is the problem of all civilized communities, and just because it is chiefly found in manufacturing countries affected by the "industrial revolution" it seems to point to some radical defect in our social system, a lack of ability to organize and coördinate the wealth-producing power of the country. The unemployed problem is, in fact, only one part of the great social problem that confronts all industrialized communities. In countries that are entirely agricultural, where there is free access to the land, there is little or no unemployment, and it may possibly be the case that a partial solution of the difficulty will be found in a fresh attempt under better and wiser conditions to apply waste labor to what is at present waste land.

A rather striking illustration of this general principle was witnessed after the close of the war between Russia and Japan. The dislocation of industrial and agricultural life in Japan had been enormous; hundreds of thousands of men had

been taken away from their daily occupations. Large numbers of them had come up from the agricultural districts to serve in the army; large numbers also had been taken out of the towns. At the close of the war an outsider would have prophesied a period of extreme distress for the unemployed, and indeed it must be confessed that the people of Japan suffered for a time at all events great hardships, but the fact that almost every soldier was either in direct contact with the land, or was, through some relative, in touch with agricultural pursuits, made it possible for them to tide over this crisis in their national life. In the future, after Japan has been fully industrialized, it will not be so easy to absorb its disbanded conscripts at the close of a war.

Take again another illustration, that of a country like Denmark, which, notwithstanding the constant growth of its capital, Copenhagen, is nevertheless, in the main, an agricultural country. Outside of Copenhagen there are comparatively few unemployed, access to the land is readily obtainable, and almost every man who is thrifty may secure for himself a small holding upon which it is just possible to live. Of course it is useless to expect

a country like England, which, in the main, is industrial, to eliminate in a moment all unemployment, but the line of advance is at all events quite clear. The decrease in the agricultural population and the enormous increase in the town, the fact that our unemployed are almost always found in the big industrial centers, the complete change in the conditions of manufacture, from industries carried on in the homes of the people, often in small villages, to a factory system with all its attendant evils, — these things must be regarded as the main causes of the growth of the unemployed problem. Labor-saving machinery may have aggravated the evil, although in the end it is possible that the introduction of new methods and more scientific equipment creates more employment than we usually imagine, yet the fact remains that to-day the demands upon the worker have become greater, with a tendency on the part of commerce to become irregular and discontinuous.

Highly specialized conditions of industry often make it impossible for men employed in that trade to find other occupations in the event of an actual collapse or severe depression. The worker in England, for one reason or another, is not so capable of

adapting himself to new conditions as is the worker in the United States. Then again, the strengthening of the Factory Acts, Employers' Liability, Workmen's Compensation, and a variety of other ameliorative measures, necessary as these reforms were, have probably shortened the years of full efficiency in the opinion of the employer. For all these reasons we must expect to find in our big towns a surplus of laborers, fifty per cent of whom will be unskilled, unable to obtain regular work and gradually tending to become demoralized and degraded by unemployment.

The change that has come over public opinion with regard to the treatment of these men is almost in itself a revolution. The old view, held not only by Tories but by Liberals of the Manchester school, and even by some philosophic Radicals, was that the country for its own interest must have cheap labor, and not only cheap labor but a reserve of labor, if it was to maintain its position in the competitive world. Trade-unions for this reason were looked at askance, and any constructive legislation for dealing with the unemployed was regarded with the utmost suspicion. The Poor Law and charity were the only two methods by which distress arising

from unemployment could be relieved. The present view is far more scientific as well as more humane. We aim now not only at relieving distress without the stigma of pauperism, but also at searching out the causes of unemployment, of classifying the men who are unemployed, and substituting a complete organization for the disorder and chaos which have been only too manifest in our methods of dealing with this great problem. We should probably long ago have undertaken more constructive work, had it not been for the confusion of thought created by the tramp, the wastrel, and the vagabond.

In the experience of most of us there are men for whom it seems almost impossible to find a way out. They are either unwilling or unable to work, and the employer regards it as an economically unsound policy to offer them the opportunity, since he knows that there are better men awaiting the same job. Whether it be the fault of the individual man or the fault of society, the fact remains the same, that there is a large class of men who cannot be employed in the ordinary ranks of industry, who must be dealt with in some other fashion at the cost of the State with a view to fitting them for

future employment. As to these unemployables, all that can be said just now is that public opinion is gradually crystallizing in favor of colonies of detention for the men who are unwilling to work, and free colonies for training those men who are willing but have so deteriorated in physique as to become utterly inefficient. Just as we manufacture criminals and create the unemployable by our stupid and shortsighted methods, so, by a systematic and sustained effort, we may perhaps be able to save a minority of these men from themselves and transform them into useful citizens.

The recent Report of the Poor Law Commission only emphasizes the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy,¹ and although that committee dealt for the most part with only one section of the unemployable, the direction which new legislation must take was perfectly obvious. There can be no doubt that before long the British Parliament will sanction some attempt to deal with the unemployables along continental lines, and if the cost is presented as an insuperable obstacle, it is necessary to remember that at present the habitual vagrant and the inefficient are either inmates

¹ C. d. 2852 Wyman & Sons, Fetter Lane, E. C.

of casual wards or prisons, or a burden upon the charity of some private individual.

But it is chiefly with the underemployed and not with the unemployed that we are mostly concerned, although up to the present no adequate remedy has been discovered. Mr. W. H. Beveridge, who is now Director of the Labor Exchanges at the Board of Trade, and the little band who signed the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, are specially concerned with the problems presented by this very large class of men. The underemployed are recruited for the most part from the ranks of casual labor, but there are many men who have descended from the higher grades and who may be styled the "sediment" of labor, whose work is so irregular that they are constantly unemployed. It is estimated that if the labor which is employed at the docks in East London could be organized so as to give men full and complete work without waste of time, something like 10,000 men would be stood off and rendered permanently idle. In the same way with the Liverpool docks, the decasualization of labor at these docks would probably mean that 5000 would be wholly unemployed. This is a very serious problem to which the State must now

address itself, and the Poor Law Commission has made several suggestions to remedy the evil. Before discussing these suggestions we need to inquire a little more closely into the whole question of "supply" and "demand" so far as the labor market is concerned. What is the cause of this great wastage of force in the industrial world? We have not yet been able to ascertain what it is that lies at the root of the great fluctuations in trade, the periods of boom and the periods of depression, although the cause is probably inherent in the competitive system, but we do know that a considerable amount of dislocation is caused by the maladjustment of supply and demand. In some cases the demand for labor is keeping pace with the general supply, but the supply itself is unequal in different trades. It sometimes happens that one trade is depressed while another is prosperous, but the mobility of labor is so imperfect that it is not possible to transfer men from one trade to another. For example, men who are out of work in the building trades in London clearly could not supply vacant places in the textile trades of Lancashire. Even in the same trade there may be a leakage of labor power due to lack of organization. What is wanted

is some machinery which will enable men who are underemployed or displaced in one industry to be placed in regular employment elsewhere — some method whereby the mobility of labor may be increased and the wastage reduced to a minimum.

The first step is, the organization, so far as is possible, of the labor market, and with this object in view the Liberal government in 1909 brought in and passed into law the "Labor Exchanges Act" — an Act modeled to some extent upon the system of the German bureaux, but an improvement upon that system by virtue of the fact that in Great Britain these Exchanges are maintained by the State and are therefore all closely linked together, whereas in Germany the bureaux are either municipal or managed by voluntary associations. The whole country is mapped out into eleven divisions, Ireland forming one division, and at the head of each is placed a divisional inspector. Each important town is eventually to have an Exchange, and at the present moment there are 224 in existence. These Exchanges are classified in Classes A, B, and C, according to the population of the town. Class A consists of towns of over 100,000, class B of towns from 50,000 to 100,000,

class C of towns from 25,000 to 50,000. The total number of proposed Exchanges of all grades is 350. In the larger towns there will be, necessarily, branch Exchanges, and in smaller towns there will be established suboffices in connection with the nearest Exchange. Eventually it is intended that every village post office shall keep an employment register. All these Exchanges are to be in telephonic and telegraphic communication with one another, and also with the divisional clearing house. The divisional clearing house is in direct communication with the central clearing house in London. The difficulties met with at the very outset were such as might have been anticipated. For the first few weeks there was so great a rush to register names that hardly any other work could be done except that of enrolling and classifying the large number of unemployed of all types who presented themselves. Since that date, however, there has been a gradual increase in the number of situations filled, and already it is evident that the Exchange will play a most useful part in the industrial world. The following figures for the first six months of 1911 give an idea of the value of these Exchanges, both to employers and employed:

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1911

(a) GENERAL REGISTER (EXCLUSIVE OF CERTAIN SPECIFIED CASUAL EMPLOYMENTS)

	WORKPEOPLE'S AP- PLICATIONS ON REG- ISTER AT BEGINNING OF PERIOD	AP- PLICATIONS RE- CEIVED DURING PE- RIOD	VACANCIES NOTIFIED	VACANCIES FILLED	WORKPEOPLE'S AP- PLICATIONS REMAIN- ING ON REGISTER AT END OF PERIOD
Men	50,756	599,535	188,576	159,436	52,342
Boys	4,126	86,419	49,001	30,056	5,037
Women	7,709	175,641	74,296	55,465	14,191
Girls	2,172	52,642	25,670	19,845	3,597
Total	64,763	914,237	337,543	261,802	75,671

(b) CASUAL REGISTER (INCLUDING CERTAIN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS OF AN ESSENTIALLY CASUAL NATURE)

MONTH	APPLICANTS GIVEN WORK	NUMBER OF JOBS	WORKPEOPLE'S APPLICATIONS RE- MAINING ON REG- ISTER AT END OF PERIOD
January			
Men	1,716	9,522	1,420
Women	472	1,144	1,137
February			
Men	1,490	9,411	1,440
Women	376	963	973
March			
Men	1,820	11,845	1,470
Women	423	1,001	843
April			
Men	1,246	8,423	1,277
Women	368	932	677
May			
Men	1,389	9,844	1,325
Women	1,272	1,798	1,593
June			
Men	1,289	10,775	1,335
Women	1,199	1,687	736

A valuable clause in the new Act provides "that the regulations of the Exchanges may authorize advances to be made by way of loan, towards meeting the expenses of workpeople traveling to places where employment has been found for them through a Labor Exchange." There is also a clause in the Act which confers the power of establishing advisory committees for the purpose of giving advice and assistance in connection with the management of any Exchange. These advisory committees consist half of Trade-union representatives and half of Employers' representatives, and their object is to insure the neutrality of the Exchange as regards organized labor. The Labor Exchanges are not to be used to the detriment of trade-unionism, and preference of employment must not be given to non-union men, nor must the Exchange supply workman during an industrial lockout or strike, nor must it fill situations at less than the recognized rate of wages; that is to say, the rate of wages for that class of labor which is current in the district. As in the case of rates of wages, so in conditions of labor. The conditions are not to be worse than those obtaining in each particular trade in that district. On the other hand, the main busi-

ness of the Exchange is to bring employer and employed together, leaving them to do their own bargaining and to make their own terms. Roughly speaking, this is the method adopted in the case of the German bureaux.

Other advisory committees will probably consist of those who are interested in women's work and also those who are specially concerned with boy labor and technical instruction. Schoolmasters will most likely be represented on these committees, and an attempt is being made in connection with the section dealing with boy labor to interest all educational authorities. No one supposes that the Labor Exchange is the solution of the unemployed problem; it is only a step in the right direction. Our knowledge of that problem up to the present is incomplete and disjointed. Gradually the information acquired by means of the Exchanges will be at the disposal both of the State and of the big municipalities. The machinery thus made available for ascertaining accurately the numbers of the unemployed and various classes of men and women applying for jobs, will be of great value when the effort is made to redistribute and to concentrate work. While unable to create employ-

ment, except in a very small measure, the Exchanges by the distribution of the work which is already in existence will tend to remove the friction which arises in the industrial machine from lack of knowledge, and, generally speaking, to make easy the pathway of the workman in his search for employment. The very fact that the system is a national one, places upon the State, when full statistics are available, the great responsibility of dealing with the reserve army of labor which will then be seen to be in existence. Incidentally, it may also enable this or some other government to deal with the questions of the casual laborer and the underemployed.

These Labor Exchanges differ in many essentials from the Labor Bureaux established and maintained out of the rates, which sprang up as a result of the Labor Bureaux (London) Act of 1902. Many of the local authorities did not take advantage of the Act, and the machinery was altogether inadequate. The Unemployed Workmen's Act, 1905, gave to London a central unemployed body, and under its control some twenty Exchanges were established, but these Exchanges were never a complete success, and allied as they were with an Act that established

Distress Committees, they were associated in men's minds with all the unfortunate attempts that had been made to deal with unemployment from the point of view of charity. They were handicapped by lack of funds, by an insufficient staff and inadequate accommodation; their failure was inevitable.

We have said that the Labor Exchange is the first step in the solution of the unemployed problem. It is impossible to deal successfully with a question like that of unemployment unless we know the measure of the need and have some method of applying a remedy. Thus, whether we pronounce for a comprehensive form of government insurance against unemployment, or whether we urge the desirability of State works and the creation of new industries, or whether we look in both these directions, we must have the assistance of the Exchange in collecting and registering the data and in providing the distributing machinery which will be required.

Before long registration at the Exchange will be made compulsory, and then it will be possible to make provision for insurance against unemployment on a large scale. Two methods have been suggested. The first is that of subsidizing from

the national exchequer the existing trade-unions which grant unemployment allowances. In many of the larger trade-unions a weekly sum is paid during unemployment, traveling allowances are made to those in search of work, and emigration grants are voted in certain cases. The trade-unions, on the average, pay something like £500,000 a year to their unemployed members in this form of assistance. The highest figures during the last ten years were over £1,000,000 for one hundred principal unions, in 1908, and £940,000 in 1909. State subventions to the unemployed funds of these trade-unions would be a great encouragement to them to continue this valuable piece of work, and would offer an inducement to other trade-unions not in the possession of similar funds, to make a beginning in the same direction. The proposal is that the government should contribute an amount equal to that raised by the trade-union for this special purpose. The weakness of this method of helping the unemployed is, of course, the fact that the poorer and the more unskilled the union, the less likely it is that it would be able to start an unemployed fund, and the more probable it is that such a union would have a large number of out-of-

works within its ranks. Its merit is its great simplicity.

The second method is the latter part of the National Insurance Act introduced by Mr. Lloyd George. This section of the Act is a scheme for compulsory insurance against unemployment in certain trades. It is an experimental measure which, if successful, will be extended to other trades. At present it covers two large groups, the building group and the engineering group. The building group includes the building trades, mill sawyers, and general laborers, in all 1,321,000 people; the engineering group consists of engineers and iron founders of whom there are 777,000, shipbuilders, coach builders, mill sawyers, and general laborers, in all 1,100,000. So that in the two groups combined 2,471,000 people will be brought within the scope of unemployment insurance. These workmen belong to trades which suffer from considerable fluctuations and feel most acutely the times of great trade depression. The fact is that as they manufacture the instruments of production and distribution, they have to bear a heavier burden than those who are engaged in other occupations when trade is generally bad. It is on this account that the

Bill was framed in their special interests, the State coming to the aid of that section of the workers which stands most in need. The compulsory contributions to be made are $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence by the workmen per week and $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence by the employer in respect of each workman, the State adding $1\frac{2}{3}$ pence per week. The State is to bear all the cost of administration over 10 per cent, or $\frac{2}{3}$ of a penny per week. The result will be that apart from the special reduction allowed to employers, 6 pence a week is available for benefits. This special reduction is a rather interesting feature of the measure. The joint contribution of the employer and employed amounts to 21 shillings 8 pence per annum, but with a view to encouraging employers to give regular employment, any employer who undertakes to engage his men by the year may compound his contribution by paying in advance for each workman 15 shillings per annum. In this way the employer's contribution is reduced from 10 shillings 10 pence to 4 shillings 2 pence. No contribution is required from the workman during unemployment. The benefits to be received both in the engineering and the building trades will amount to 7 shillings per week for fif-

teen weeks. There is however this important proviso, that the insured man is not to receive more than one week's benefit for every five contributions paid by him. If a workman has been working in an insured trade before the passing of the Act, there shall be deemed to be added to the number of contributions which he has actually paid, five contributions for each three months during which he has been in the trade up to a maximum of 25 contributions. The result is that after a workman has paid his 26 actual contributions, he will be regarded and treated as if he had paid for 50 weeks. He then becomes eligible for 10 weeks' unemployed benefit and within a year is eligible for the maximum benefit. The method of collecting the contributions will be the same as that existing in Germany, viz. an insurance book with insurance stamps affixed therein by the employer, to which the State adds its quota. If a workman falls out of employment, he takes his stamped insurance book to the Labor Exchange and claims his benefit through the insurance officers. If there is any dispute he may refer to a court of referees composed of representatives of employers and employed presided over by an impartial chairman. The workman can appeal

without charge, and if he has to attend the court, he will receive traveling expenses. If there should be any disagreement between the insurance officer and the court of referees, the matter will be determined by an umpire appointed by the Board of Trade. A workman has a statutory right to this benefit when he has been employed at an insured trade for not less than 26 weeks, when he has made application to the Labor Exchange in the proper way, and has shown that though capable of work he is unable to obtain it. If he is offered a job, he is not compelled to take a rate of wage lower than the rate current in the district in which the work is offered. He is not entitled to unemployment benefit if his unemployment is due to a strike or lockout, or if he has been dismissed for misconduct, or has left his work without just cause, or has been convicted and imprisoned without the option of a fine. He is also disqualified if he goes into the workhouse or leaves the country. The workman who is seldom or never out of work does not lose by reason of the fact that his employment is regular, for if he has been so fortunate as not to need the insurance, on reaching the age of 60, or 55 if he retires from the trade, he can demand the whole

of the contributions paid by him with compound interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, less any amount that he may have received in benefits. It is estimated that about £1 per insured person, or a total of £2,421,000, is available for unemployed benefits. Whatever else may be said about this scheme, it cannot be denied that it will prevent destitution and the degradation which follows poverty; it will not cure unemployment, but by pooling the risks it will make unemployment less of a danger to the workman, it will increase the number of insured workmen fivefold, it will strengthen the Labor Exchanges and enable them to play a still more useful part in the work of organizing industries. It will provide the nation with a fund of valuable information with regard to unemployment and will make future experiments in many directions much easier as a consequence. This scheme was of course not in existence at the time of the Poor Law Commission, or at least it had not been made public.

The most striking fact about the Poor Law Commission is the general consensus of opinion with regard to remedies for unemployment and the inadequacy of present methods. The Majority

and Minority Reports are so essentially different in their main conclusions, that it is some comfort, at all events, to find a fair degree of unanimity with regard to the question before us. The detailed criticisms to which old-time methods have been subjected, reveal the fact that the Poor Law, with its workhouse, its labor union, its outdoor relief, has utterly failed to help the unemployed. Equally so has charity, in all its varied forms, been unsuccessful. The doles of charity received from the Mansion House Funds and from various central agencies have created greater evils than they have remedied. Municipal relief works, in so far as they partake of the nature of charitable agencies, are also a failure, although here some useful results at all events can be placed to the credit of the unemployed. It was in 1886 that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain issued his circular dealing with relief works, and it was the Unemployed Workmen's Act of 1905 that aimed at remedying the evils connected with that method of relieving distress. What were these evils? In the first place, relief works were designed to tide regular workers, temporarily out of work, over a period of exceptional trade depression. What really happened was that this class either did

not apply or was overlooked, and only the lowest class of unskilled laborers was assisted. Secondly, the casual laborer was rather encouraged than discouraged, and the efficient men who were employed on relief works were hindered from doing good work by the slow pace and the low standard of the inefficient. Then again, the cost was very high, sometimes more than double the estimate, and, lastly, the municipalities, finding themselves unable to discover useful work upon which these men might be employed, began to forestall their ordinary work, thereby making it necessary to dispense with their regular staff later on in the year. As the Report said, "The better class of workmen became unemployed for the sole reason that the work had been done at an earlier period by the unemployed at a much greater cost and with less efficiency."

Many of these evils in connection with municipal relief works might be remedied by better organization, classification, and discrimination. It is quite unusual to find the foreman in charge of relief works empowered to dismiss a man at a moment's notice for persistently refusing to do his full share of work. It is also unusual to find that there is any efficient power of selection placed in the hands of those who

are controlling the relief works, and the result is that often the most unfit are employed, while those who are able and willing to do this class of work are overlooked. Then again, sufficient inducement is not offered to those engaged on relief work to do their best, and, finally, the government had no alternative schemes to offer in the case of those municipalities which found themselves unable to deal with the huge army of unemployed within their own boundaries. If these relief works are to be at all successful, the work to be done should be really useful work, and yet such as would not be carried out under ordinary circumstances. The men selected should be the most capable and industrious, and all work made as remunerative as possible by proper supervision. There is no reason why relief works should be managed more unscientifically and carelessly than other industrial operations. It would be well if some experiment could be made on the lines of the New Zealand Coöperative Gang system. There, the government, working through the various local authorities, employs directly the labor of the unemployed, but each gang works on its own responsibility, accepting a contract to accomplish a specific amount of labor for a fixed

sum. Each gang elects its own foreman, and each individual man benefits if the work is carried out economically and quickly. The result is a fairly high standard.

The Poor Law Commission Reports are agreed as to the general principles upon which a new departure must be made. In the first place, the causes which have led to unemployment or to underemployment must be discovered. Proper classification of the unemployed must be observed, and the unemployable must be dealt with in an entirely different fashion. With a view to draining what has been called "the stagnant pool" of casual labor, they were unanimous in their recommendation of the Labor Exchange as a first step because it would increase the mobility of labor and offer a reliable index of the labor market. Germany's 700 bureaux fill 2,000,000 situations a year, at the cost of something like sevenpence apiece. Why should it not be possible for England to accomplish a similar work?

Both reports are agreed that boy labor has an important bearing upon the enormous amount of underemployment to be found in our big cities. Our casual laborers are chiefly young men, and in

most cases are boys who were placed in "blind alley" occupations. Their parents never gave any serious consideration to their future. They left school at a very early age, without physical training and without technical instruction. The result is, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, these young men find all doors leading to a regular occupation closed, and only intermittent labor of a very low character is possible to them. The Poor Law Commission, therefore, advocates the raising of the school age, the teaching of a skilled trade, school supervision until sixteen years of age, and improved facilities for technical education between the present age of leaving school and the age of eighteen or twenty. We might add that some sort of training in the duties of citizenship is necessary if these youths are to grow up to be a help and not a hindrance to the State. As to the draining of the "stagnant pool" that has been referred to, the suggestion is made that it might be possible to decasualize much of this labor. If registration at Labor Exchanges were compulsory, and if employers were compelled to engage their casual labor from the Exchange, in this way different occupations might be dovetailed and a sufficient number

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of hours given to each casual laborer in connection with various employments. This idea is just foreshadowed in the unemployment section of the State Insurance Act. In the case of "season" trades, this dovetailing of different industries would be of great value; for example, during the three winter months, when the building and brick-making trades are at their slackest, the men who are thus employed could be engaged in other industries that are possibly working at high pressure, and in this way much of the evil due to seasonal variation might be overcome. In the case of the large number of men who are unable to find work, even after the above suggestions have been carried out, the Minority Report put forward as a remedy a proposal made by Mr. A. L. Bowley, the statistician, namely, that "a ten years' program" of capital grants-in-aid, as a standing scheme of governmental and local outlay on needed work, should be set on foot. The idea is that a large sum of money, £4,000,000, should be set aside by the government year by year, to be used in times of trade depression, for the carrying out of certain big departmental works. These works would be let by contract in the usual way, and would thus

counteract the industrial ebb and flow of demand by inducing a complementary flow and ebb. By this method it is thought that the disadvantages attached to ordinary relief works would be overcome.

What are these large governmental works which might be established apart from the operations of the War Office and Admiralty? Land reclamation has been suggested, and there is much waste land which would give a fair profit if properly drained and cultivated. The improvement of our harbors and the protection of our coast against erosion by the sea, is another suggestion which has been made, although the recent Report of the Commission does not give much encouragement to the latter expedient. But the most practical scheme yet put forward is the outcome of at least two important Committees on Forestry. It is thought that the 10,000,000 acres of waste land in Great Britain and Ireland which are more or less suitable for afforestation purposes, might gradually be acquired and afforested at the expense of the community. No private owner of land can venture on the work of afforestation on a large scale, partly because the profits are small, and partly

because he would have to wait too long for a return on his money. The State can borrow money cheaply; the State can afford to wait, and therefore schemes of afforestation, if carried out economically by contract labor, might not only in the end prove to be of great value to the community, but would certainly absorb a considerable number of unemployed, some of whom after training might be permanently established in this industry. Professor Schlich has pointed out that we spend £25,000,000 annually on timber, a considerable portion of which might be grown on British soil without using one acre of already cultivated land. The new Development Act has already enabled us to make a start, amongst other things, with this work of afforestation, and these experiments will doubtless prove this Act to be not the least useful of the measures passed by the Liberal government.

Finally, a few words are desirable on labor colonies and the land question generally, in view of the close relation between land and unemployment. The oldest known colony is that founded in 1818 by General Van Den Bosch, at Fredericksoord in Friesland, Holland. There are two other colonies

of very much the same type, Willemsoord and Wilhelminasoord. In all there are 10,000 acres of what was once heath and sand, now under full cultivation by town-bred men. The founder of the colony took as his motto: "Help the people and improve the land." Fredericksoord, which is the best known of the three, has a population of 1900, and in connection with the colony there is a system of free farms or small holdings, upon which men are placed as soon as they have proved themselves capable agriculturists. The nearest approach to this colony in England is that at Hollesley Bay near Woodbridge in Suffolk, which consists of an estate of 1300 acres, about 500 of which are arable land. This colony is maintained out of the unemployed grants controlled by the President of the Local Government Board.

England has other colonies under voluntary management: for example, Hadleigh, belonging to the Salvation Army; Lingfield, belonging to the Christian Social Service League; and Libury Hall at Great Munden, Herts, which is a colony run by Germans in England on the lines of the thirty-two agricultural colonies in Germany itself. The mistake which has been made in every country so

far as labor colonies are concerned, is that of not drawing a hard and fast line between colonies for the inefficient and colonies for the genuine unemployed. It is only in recent years that any attempt has been made to classify the men who have been sent to these colonies. The result is that the vagrant and the wastrel, the criminal and the epileptic, are found side by side with the industrious and capable workingman, who for one reason or another has been out of work for a long period. We must make up our minds what class we are trying to reach and to assist, and there can be no doubt that what is really required is a series of graded colonies dealing with various classes from the unemployable up to the better class of unemployed; namely, the type of man who can be taught agriculture on a training farm, and who, if taught and properly assisted, may become a successful small holder. Until the labor colonies are adapted specifically to deal with these classes that are at present all sent in a body to the same colony, we cannot entertain any hope of their success. It seems, however, that in the near future this classification will be accomplished, and then we may expect to find, not only colonies of detention for the vagrant, but also

agricultural training farms for the type of laborer who was once upon the land, but now finds himself unemployed in our large towns. How are these and similar men to be finally established in the country? The serious obstacle to any solution of the unemployed problem, complicated as it is by the rush of agricultural laborers to the town, is the land monopoly. That question we propose to deal with at a later stage. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that unless the evil of land monopoly can be reduced in extent, all hope of really solving the unemployed problem is at an end. While it is possible for fourteen peers in the House of Lords to own nearly 5,000,000 acres of land over which they have full control, in a country like Great Britain where land hunger is so severely felt, it is idle either to talk of getting back to the land or giving independence in the rural districts to the laborers who are already there. To sum up the change which must be made and the recommendations which ought to be carried out by any British government intending to tackle the problem of unemployment, we venture to predict that the first and possibly the most important step will be to place in the hands of one Member of the Cabinet responsibility

for the whole question. At the present moment, the Local Government Board, the Board of Trade, the Board of Agriculture, and to some extent the Board of Education, are all responsible for certain aspects of the problem.

The Local Government Board has charge of the central unemployed fund, administers the Unemployed Workmen's Act of 1905, and controls the distress committees which have been set up as a result of that Act. It also indirectly controls the farm colonies in connection with certain distress committees; for example, Hollesley Bay, and the West Ham Colony, by virtue of the fact that the greater portion of the maintenance fund is contributed by the Board. The Board of Trade, on the other hand, is responsible for the newly created Labor Exchanges and also for the measure dealing with Insurance against Unemployment, Part II of the State Insurance Act. The special work of the Board of Agriculture, so far as it bears on unemployment, takes the shape of placing Crown lands at the disposal of the County Councils for small holdings and of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests for afforestation purposes. It has been suggested that the Board of Agricul-

ture should systematically encourage the settlement in small holdings near the labor colonies, of men who have been trained and assisted in those colonies.

It will be seen that some unification or coördination of the work carried on by these three departments is necessary, and if the question of casual labor is to be thoroughly dealt with, the Board of Education should be in close touch, with a view to raising the school age and providing such technical or trade instruction as will safeguard the interests of the boys who enter upon "blind alley" occupations. The duty of organizing the national labor market ought, however, in our opinion, to be placed upon the shoulders of one minister, and his department should include the Labor Exchanges, the work of insurance, emigration, and the control of a graded system of labor farm colonies, whereby those who are unable to get occupation in the ordinary channels of industry may be maintained and trained with a view either to emigration or to agricultural pursuits in Great Britain, or to special governmental works such as afforestation and land reclamation. It is upon some such lines that the Liberal party may

in the future proceed. The growth of public opinion in favor of such action has been astonishing, and the time has now arrived when it will be possible to deal in a thorough and statesman-like fashion with this perplexing and complicated problem.

STATE INSURANCE AGAINST SICKNESS

PERHAPS the most important measure of social reform ever introduced in the British Parliament is that known as "an Act to provide for insurance against loss of life and for the prevention and cure of sickness and for insurance against unemployment." It is designed to organize medical science for the cure of sickness, for the prevention of disease so far as it is possible, and for the amelioration of the evil of unemployment by insurance in certain specific industries. The whole community is to be marshaled and organized in the interest of the more unfortunate section. The strong are to help bear the burden of the weak. This measure is a part of a great scheme of social reform designed to give to the working classes of this country a minimum of security in face of the great dangers surrounding them by reason of their industrial life and occupations. It is only those who have had close and intimate experience of the hardships and sufferings of that section of the people on or below the poverty line who can fully appreciate

the value of this attempt to stem the tide of destitution, pauperism, and disease, especially amongst the manual workers. Following hard after the Old Age Pensions Law and its extension to aged recipients of Poor Law relief, it is clear that it will have a notable and marked effect in the decrease of pauperism, and if not of employment, at any rate of the evils resulting from unemployment.

Of the two sections of the Act, that concerned with health insurance is by far the larger and more controversial. Not that the unemployment section is without its difficulties, but for some reason or other it has escaped almost all criticism. This is partly due to the fact that the far-reaching nature of its provisions have not yet been fully grasped, but partly also to the well-thought-out character of those provisions. In the main, that section of the Act as it stands was drafted two years ago, and during the whole of the time weak spots have been examined and objections met. That there are still defects is beyond doubt, but these defects excite much less opposition than those discovered in the health section, when the Bill was discussed in Committee.

Without embarking on any detailed comparison

with the German scheme of State Insurance, it would be well to mention the two respects in which these great measures resemble one another. Both in Germany and in England Insurance against sickness and disability are *compulsory* and *national*, that is to say, within certain strictly defined limits of income the whole nation so far as it is employed is insured. The fact that the German System of Insurance has now been successfully in operation for many years is somewhat of a guide for the future of our own Act. It is more far-reaching in its scope than the German measure, for it applies to a larger number, in proportion to the population, than the German Acts which deal with sickness, invalidity, and old age pensions. It also has some great advantages over the German system, the most important of which is the fact that in Germany old age pensions are paid out of the sickness and invalidity fund, whereas in England we vote out of the Imperial Exchequer £13,000,000 for old age pensions and thus make possible larger benefits in our Insurance scheme. Another advantage which the British measure possesses over the German is the fact that in the United Kingdom the State makes a contribution directly to both the health and unemployment

aspects, whereas, in Germany, the government makes no contribution to the cost of sickness as distinguished from invalidity. The whole cost of the sickness insurance in Germany is borne by the employer and employed. Neither does the government proposal make any distinction between sickness and invalidity by setting up separate machinery as in Germany; and, finally, the German plan of separating off the industrial population into classes according to the rate of wages earned is also not adopted.

The Act is so colossal in character that it will be a long while before the details are fully seized by the people and accurately comprehended, but the main principles already accepted both by the working classes and by the employers are readily understood. Resting, as it does, upon compulsion (more than 13,000,000 men and women are to be thus insured against sickness alone), and allowing deductions from wages as a method by which the insurance monies are contributed, it was absolutely necessary that it should carry with it the good will of the vast majority of the community. Mr. Lloyd George enlisted in its favor the great mass of social and political force

which was affected. It is easy to be nervous or skeptical about its final success, for employers, doctors, chemists, insurance societies, trade-unions, friendly societies, are all affected, and therefore nothing but an enthusiastic determination to take this forward step in the interest of those who are weak or unfortunate can insure the satisfactory working of this measure.

Mr. Lloyd George has stated that 30 per cent of the pauperism of the United Kingdom is attributable to sickness, and a considerable percentage will probably have to be added to that for unemployment. It is therefore of supreme importance to local authorities, who feel the pressure of the rates, to utilize the Act as fully as possible. Directly or indirectly it affects housing, sanitation, medical treatment, hospitals, dispensaries, maternity work, convalescent homes, sanatoria, and through the unemployment section distress committees, labor exchanges, and the work of trade-unions. The Americans are greatly concerned at the present time with plans for surveying their cities with a view to eliminating weak spots and improving city life. This Act may lead up to a great national survey in which those who are re-

sponsible for the government of this country will take note of all that affects the life, the health, and the well-being of the people. Let us look at some of the facts in relation to this question of sickness and disease.

For our 45,000,000 people of population we have 32,000 doctors. My experience in East London proves how inadequately the doctors are distributed, and what unsatisfactory treatment the poor get as compared with the rich. The working classes who can least afford to be sick are most liable to be stricken down and permanently incapacitated. Taking pauperism generally, anything from 30 to 50 per cent would be due to the sickness or the disablement of the breadwinner amongst the working classes. Out of our whole population we have something like 15,500,000 of manual workers, and there are in addition about 3,500,000 whose incomes are small and who do not therefore pay income tax. Of these 19,000,000 under this Act, 14,700,000 will be insured against sickness, over 13,000,000 of them compulsorily. Of these 13,100,000, 9,200,000 will be men and 3,900,000 women; of those who are insured voluntarily about half a million would be boys and 300,000 girls. Up to

the present, although we have nominally 6,000,000 paying members in our Friendly and other societies insuring against sickness, many of these are in more than one society, and the probability is that only about 4,500,000 are insured, and a considerable number even of these will be small tradesmen. It is estimated that there have been 250,000 lapses from the Friendly Societies out of the 6,000,000 policies. Many of these policies lapsed, owing to the fact that poverty or sickness or perhaps disablement make it difficult or impossible for members to keep up their payment. Sickness and unemployment are the two factors most responsible for this constant falling away on the part of the working classes from their Friendly Societies and Trade-unions. It is therefore of the utmost importance to remember that under the Act contributions during sickness will not be required, and consequently an end will be put to losses that have been sustained up to the present. No contribution is required during unemployment, though the man may voluntarily pay in order not to suffer loss of benefits through falling into arrears. At the present moment the Friendly Societies and Trade-unions are compelled to insist

upon payment of contributions during periods of unemployment. It is true there is a distress fund out of which contributions are sometimes paid by the society, but in the main the insured person, even though he be unemployed, must contribute week by week, or month by month, or risk his membership. Under the Insurance Act contributions need not necessarily be paid during unemployment. The insured person is allowed three weeks in each year if he is unemployed and cannot pay. This is cumulative in effect, so that after three years, if, notwithstanding unemployment, he voluntarily pays his contribution, he is able in the fourth year to get 12 weeks in arrears without loss of benefits. This is a most important provision, and it has this special advantage that there is no inducement for any man to abstain from making his payments, because sooner or later he will suffer in benefits if he really gets behind. It is not such a boon as that of exemption from contributions during sickness, for in the case of the sick man, even though he be incapacitated for life, he does not have to make any further payment. The element of compulsion in the Act, which is a very large one, applying as it does to over thirteen million people in

receipt of the sickness insurance benefit, makes the measure practically universal. Soldiers and sailors, government and municipal pensionable employees are insured under other schemes, whilst commission agents working for more than one employer, persons working on their own account, wives employed by their husbands, casual domestic servants, hawkers, etc., are outside the scope of the Act. Compulsion is effected both in the case of the sickness and unemployed insurance through the employer who deducts the specified contributions. The Insurance fund which is set up is able to offer very large benefits for comparatively small contributions, because it is fed from three sources. The insured man pays 4 pence per week, the employer pays 3 pence per week, and the State 2 pence. This is establishing a flat rate as distinguished from the German method, but there is a graduated scale set up when the wages do not exceed 15 shillings per week or 2 shillings 6 pence per day. In this case workers pay a smaller sum and employers a larger portion of the total subscription. When the wage is over 12 shillings a week and not over 15 shillings, the worker pays 3 pence instead of 4 pence, whilst the employer pays 4

pence instead of 3 pence. When the wage is over 9 shillings and not over 12 shillings, the worker's contribution is reduced to 1 penny and the employer's increased to 5 pence for a man and 4 pence for a woman. When the wage is not over 9 shillings the worker, man or woman, pays nothing per week, whilst the employer pays 7 pence for a man and 6 pence for a woman. So far as contributions are concerned, the English scheme is better than the German, for in Germany he is compelled to pay about twice as much as the average British workman. Take the case of a man whose income is about 21 shillings a week : in Germany he pays about $7\frac{3}{4}$ pence for sickness and invalidity insurance, whilst in England he pays only 4 pence. In Germany the benefits vary with the wage. Lower down in the wage scale the inequality is still greater: the man who earns 9 shillings or less per week in the United Kingdom pays nothing; in Germany he pays $3\frac{3}{4}$ pence. In Germany the government makes no payment to the sickness as distinct from the disablement fund, and the workmen have to pay two thirds of the entire insurance contribution for sickness, the employer paying the other third. Beyond all question the Englishman has

the advantage. The Act makes it possible for those who are not compulsorily insured to be included within its scope, the necessary condition being that they earn their own livelihood.

On the voluntary side the man contributes 7 pence and the woman 6 pence, but these rates only apply to those persons under the age of 45 on July 1, 1912, who join the scheme within six months of that date; those over 45 or those not over 45 on July 1, 1912, who do not join within six months may have to pay an increased rate. One of the most striking features of this measure of State Insurance is the way in which for all practical purposes insured men and women of all ages up to 65 are treated as though they were young. Theoretically their youth is renewed. The man past the prime of life is insured for no greater a sum than if he were a boy of 16, or a young man of 20. A Friendly Society obviously cannot give this great advantage, and whilst a man of 40 joining the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows will pay for sickness benefits and doctor alone 2 shillings 8½ pence per month, under the government scheme his payments are for all purposes of insurance as though he were 16 years of age, and therefore only 1 shilling

4 pence per month, — a little less than half. What are the benefits that are obtained by contributors already referred to? It should be noted that the benefits are regarded as the minimum and not the maximum. They include free medical attendance, and free medicine throughout life, the insured person becoming eligible for medical benefit six months after the beginning of the Act (July, 1912). The second benefit is the sickness benefit, which is 10 shillings a week for a man and 7 shillings 6 pence for a woman for the first 26 weeks from the fourth day of sickness, and 5 shillings a week during the next 13 weeks. These rates apply only to persons not over 50 years of age. Members who are over 50 years of age, who have made 500 or more contributions, receive full money benefits. Persons over 50 who have not made the requisite contributions will receive a reduced benefit of 7 shillings for a man and 6 shillings for a woman. Over 60 they will receive 6 shillings¹ and at 70 years of age sickness benefit ceases and old age pensions become payable. Under the age of 21, boys and girls, if married, receive full money benefit, and, if unmarried, provided that they have persons dependent

¹ For first 13 weeks, and 5 shillings for second period of 13 weeks.

upon their earnings, receive the same benefit, but otherwise the money benefit is reduced to 6 shillings for a boy and 5 shillings for a girl. An insured person becomes eligible for sickness benefit after making 26 contributions. If sickness continues longer than 26 weeks, 5 shillings a week is paid during the remainder of the sickness, however long it continues, up to the age of 70, but the permanent disablement benefit is not available unless the insured person has contributed for two years. Insured women, married or unmarried, receive a maternity benefit of 30 shillings. The wives of insured men who are not working for an employer receive the maternity benefit, but the wife of an insured man who is herself a worker and receives a wage will receive not only the maternity benefit out of her husband's insurance, but her own maternity benefit, namely, 60 shillings in all. Since there are 1,200,000 births in the United Kingdom every year, it is probable that something like one million mothers will receive maternity benefit at the cost of something over £1,500,000, including the double benefit. The expenditure for maternity benefit in Germany for a population of 63,000,000 is only about £300,000 a year. One condition of the

maternity benefit is that the mother, if a worker, should not return to work for four weeks after childbirth.

Every insured person will have the right to treatment in sanatoria, for the construction of which the Treasury sets aside £1,500,000. It is estimated that $56\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the deaths occur between the ages of 20 and 45, and 25 per cent of the deaths occur between the ages of 45 and 65. In the United Kingdom something like 75,000 people die per annum from tuberculosis, and there are probably at any one time more than a quarter of a million of people in the United Kingdom who are affected with tuberculosis in some form or other. For these infected persons only about 2000 beds are in existence, and of these very few are available for the working classes. The million and a half of money which is set aside is to be expended under the control of the Local Government Board by the Local Insurance Committees. It is hoped that the local authorities will supplement with local effort the sum that is thus forthcoming. One important step in the direction of stamping out the "White Scourge" will be the establishment of tuberculosis dispensaries, in which preliminary treatment

can be given. The Local Government Board may, with the approval of the Treasury, schedule other diseases for institutional treatment. The sanatoria are maintained by taking 1 shilling per member out of the insurance fund and adding 4 pence from the Imperial Exchequer, which will mean an income of £1,000,000 per annum. The sanatoria will be constructed cheaply and graded in order that patients in various stages may be adequately and safely treated, and it is hoped that in a few years' time the nation will see the result of this wise experiment, not only in the diminished death rate from consumption, but also in the great diminution of pauperism due to this cause.

The compulsory side of the sickness insurance regards it as certain that a great majority of the new members will join the "approved societies," an approved society being usually a Friendly Society or a Trade-union or some other society sanctioned by the Insurance Commissioners. Approved Societies under this measure are associations complying with the following conditions: They must be absolutely self-governing, they must not be worked for a monetary benefit, and all committees and officers must be elected by

the members in accordance with approved rules. Membership must also be large enough to secure a certain average of risks as well as the solvency of the society. The minimum number is accordingly fixed at 5000. This latter condition will no doubt compel many small Trade-unions and Friendly Societies to amalgamate, in itself a considerable advantage. All those who cannot obtain entry to an approved society are compelled to join the post office or deposit scheme. These persons will be about 10 per cent of all those who were uninsured, but are compelled to be insured by the government scheme. They include a minority of uninsurable lives, and as Trade-unions and Friendly Societies cannot be compelled to accept them, they must perforce join as Post Office contributors. Each person will have an insurance card issued to him by the post office together with a membership book, in which credit will be given him not only for his own contributions, but also for those of the employer and the State. This fund stands to his credit at the post office, and the contributor will be entitled to sick benefit, medical attendance, and sanatoria treatment as long as the deposit lasts. Each member has to contribute for

six months before he becomes entitled to medical benefits, and 26 weeks before he becomes entitled to sickness benefits. Even when his deposit fund is exhausted, he is still allowed, when qualified, medical and sanatoria benefits for a certain limited period. The Local Insurance Committees that will have control of the money can with the consent of the Treasury and local authority spend more money than the amount of the contributors' deposits upon medical treatment, and the Treasury and local authorities will be called upon to contribute each one half of this additional expenditure. It may be said that the Post Office contributors are in a far worse condition than any other section insured, and this is probably the case. The real test of the justice of the treatment is whether any society would be willing to take the responsibility of these lives, even with the contribution of the employer and the State added, on more favorable terms. A very interesting portion of the scheme is that which is devoted to the "Local Insurance Committee" in county and county boroughs. They are charged with the oversight of the health of the people within these special areas, although their primary responsibility will be

the care of the Post Office contributors. It is the duty of the Local Insurance Committees to see to it that the laws respecting public health are properly administered. These Committees are intended to spur on negligent sanitary authorities responsible for excessive sickness in any district, and they will be able to institute inquiries in those cases where it is clear that a landlord or local authority has been in default. Thus they have direct influence upon the housing problem, but they will also be able by reason of the powers conferred upon them to spread the knowledge of hygiene and to organize lectures on food, ventilation, care of the home, rearing of children, temperance, and other matters. In this way it is clear that they form a new and valuable force in the work of creating a sound public opinion on health questions, thus removing the actual causes of disease. These Committees will have charge of the medical care of the Post Office contributors and also the whole of the expenditure on the sanatoria. Since the Medical Officer of Health will attend the meetings of the Committee, he will be in close touch with this new administrative authority. The tendency will be more and more to take over the medical side,

and if this comes to pass, and at the same time every local Public Health authority is fully consulted, the community must reap a great advantage. The Local Insurance Committee will consist of persons nominated by the county councils, county boroughs (some of whom must be members of the Sanitary Committees), persons representing the Approved Societies, persons representing the Post Office contributors, and doctors. Women are to have a statutory right to representation. However cumbersome this proposal may be at first sight, in its actual working it will probably be effective, and, provided that the Committees are wise and judicious in the way in which they discharge their duties, we need have no fear of friction or of overlapping. It ought to be added, however, when dealing with the question of excessive sickness, that the employer may be sometimes responsible for excessive sickness. In that case, if the Approved Society make representation to the Local Insurance Committee, the Local Government Board orders an official investigation to be made into all the circumstances of the case. Should the employer be found responsible, he refunds to the society or Local Insurance Committee the extra cost that

has been incurred by reason of excessive sickness.

The position of doctors in the scheme is a most important one. The method by which it is proposed to utilize the services of doctors is very simple. In every town all duly qualified and respectable practitioners will be, if they wish it, placed upon a panel, and every Approved Society and Local Insurance Committee will make arrangements for any of these doctors to attend insured persons. The arrangements must be to the satisfaction of the Insurance Commissioners. The Committee also at the same time makes provision for the supply of drugs and medicine to insured persons, and the doctors are debarred from supplying the medicine except in rural districts and under special circumstances. In this way not only are the doctors saved a portion of the expense and a great deal of trouble, but, as fixed contracts will be made with the chemists, a proper supply of the best medicine is assured. The general supervision of the entire scheme is under the control of a Board of Insurance Commissioners appointed by the Treasury. The Commissioners will have a central office in London and branch offices

if necessary. The entire cost of the central office and its officers will be borne by the Treasury and in no way will be paid for by the persons insured. The Insurance Commissioners are assisted by an advisory committee consisting of representatives of Employers' Associations, of Approved Societies including Trade-unions, doctors, women, and all such persons as the Commissioners may find helpful. The duties of the Commissioners will be not only to control the whole of the scheme in its general aspects, but also to make arrangements for the audit of accounts, valuations of the Approved Societies, the control of the National Insurance fund, and the framing of regulations that will be required in each locality. The Commissioners may, if they think fit, utilize the monies of the Insurance Fund by handing them over to the National Debt Commissioners for investment in proper securities, and it has been specifically provided that the Commissioners in making such investments shall give preference to loans raised for the purpose of housing. The purpose which the Local Insurance Committees have in view is the stamping out of consumption and disease, and this work will be greatly aided by the erection of healthy

and sanitary dwellings for the working classes. Reference has already been made elsewhere to the section dealing with Insurance against Unemployment. At first sight it seems as if there was no connection between the two parts of the Bill, but it is clear that if the National Health Insurance does restore health to the sick, arrest consumption, stamp out disease, prevent the breaking up of the home, and diminish the growth of pauperism, it is aiding indirectly in the cure of the unemployed problem. Some of the worst phases of the unemployed problem are due not merely to bad trade, but to causes which are largely personal. The whole measure is therefore designed not merely to diminish, but to remove, much degradation and misery of which the working classes of this country have for centuries been the helpless victims.

THE PROBLEM OF OLD AGE

VERY slowly the nations of the world are surrendering the view that the working classes represent merely as "living tools" the machinery for providing other classes with the comforts and the luxuries of life, machinery to be "scrapped," as we may say, the moment the period of strength and usefulness has expired. It is just beginning to dawn upon us that any society which neglects its aged workpeople must not only be unstable but also unethical in character, and that justice demands full consideration for all the wants and requirements of the weak and the aged.

In England for many years past the question of old age pensions has been a matter of much debate, and both parties, but especially the Tory party, have again and again pledged themselves to deal with the problem of the aged. It is rather a sordid page in political history — a page which reflects little or no credit upon party government. That history we do not propose to discuss; it is sufficient to say that the one man who was most enthusiastic

in his declaration on old age pensions, not once but many times and at successive elections, namely, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, is the man who finally stood aside with the somewhat cynical remark that "It is not in my department." It is greatly to the credit of the present Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, that although he had not promised or pledged himself in any way to grant old age pensions, the moment he found himself in such a financial position as would enable him to safely proceed, he immediately devised and carried into the law the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908, which, with certain limitations for those already in possession of means, provides pensions of five shillings a week for persons over 70 years of age. It was clearly understood from the outset that this pension system was to be non-contributory. Mr. Asquith's contention was that the vast majority of those whose labor is unskilled, especially agricultural laborers and the casual laborers of the town, find it quite impossible to make provision for old age. To the laborers we must add a large number of widows and unmarried women in the working classes. That being so, in his opinion, it becomes the duty of the State to devise a method of insurance for old age that would make no call upon

the slender weekly wage which the men and women who were likely to benefit, had been able to earn in their working days. In the main, the system adopted by Mr. Asquith as the model for his own scheme was, with many modifications of detail, that of Denmark, New Zealand, New South Wales, and Victoria, the principle being that free collective provision should be made for that large class of workers who had, to the best of their ability, served their country, and before whom lay no other prospect but the poorhouse in the time of their old age.

The conscience of the people of Great Britain, largely as a result of the efforts of the Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, who for many years had advocated non-contributory pensions, was in revolt against the idea of relegating the worn-out veteran of industry to the workhouse, "where men sit and hear each other groan." Such treatment strips them of much that makes life worth living. They become dull and apathetic, full of sorrow and "leadene-eyed despair." To mitigate this sorrow and to brighten the last moments of the deserving and aged poor, was the object of the Old Age Pensions Act which has relieved 744,000 old people of their worst fears for the future. This is exclusive

of the 163,165 pensioners added by the extension of the Act to the aged recipients of Poor Law relief. Before dealing more in detail with the working of that Act, it would be as well to consider the evidence of the Poor Law Commission on this subject. Since 1834 the Local Government Board has dealt with the aged and infirm on three different lines of policy. Up to 1871 there was an indiscriminate use of the general mixed workhouses, modified to some extent by the practice of the guardians of helping with outdoor relief certain classes of the aged and infirm. That policy gave way to a harsher method of dealing with these people; namely, that of applying the workhouse test, the assumption being that the deserving could maintain themselves out of their own savings or be maintained by their relatives, aided by charitable gifts. In this case only the undeserving, in the opinion of the guardians, would apply for admission to the workhouses. About ten years ago the Poor Law authorities began to take a more generous view of the aged, and especially the aged whose conduct had shown them to be industrious and deserving. They were granted outdoor relief wherever possible and taken

into the workhouse when infirm, the treatment on the whole being generous and kindly. In the first stage to which reference has been made, very little pains were taken to distinguish between the aged and infirm and the indolent poor of bad character who entered the workhouse, while there was practically no discrimination in the matter of outdoor relief. This relief was only given if the person was destitute, and no more relief was provided than would just maintain life; it was indiscriminate, insufficient, unconditional. The second policy to which we have referred, which assumed that voluntary charity and the gifts of relatives would supply the needs of all deserving cases unable to maintain themselves, absolutely broke down. At this time it seemed to be the effort of the Poor Law authorities to deepen the stigma of pauperism in order to dissuade as many as possible from applying for Poor Law relief. The Royal Commissioners of 1893-1895 found that the aged and deserving poor were often left out, and they laid down the principles that outdoor relief ought to be given in all suitable cases, and that if the deserving aged were compelled to enter the workhouse for any reason they should be differentiated from the un-

deserving of every class. In the words of the Local Government Board, "The workhouse population had changed, and the administration no longer needed to be so deterrent." Accordingly, the final policy was instituted — either outdoor relief fully adequate to all the deserving aged, or good comfortable quarters in some institution. It cannot be said that this policy has been universally adopted, but the reforms suggested by the majority of the recent Poor Law Commission would supply facilities for classifying the necessitous poor by institutions. The aged would therefore be separated altogether from the other necessitous poor, and would be cared for in an institution by themselves. Let us summarize the recommendations of the majority :

As regards institutional relief —

1. The aged should have accommodation and treatment apart from the able-bodied, and be housed on a separate site, and be further subdivided into classes as far as practicable with reference to their physical conditions and moral character.

2. The system of small homes, such as has been instituted at Kingston-on-Hull and Woolwich, should be promoted and extended; both on the

ground of economy to the ratepayer and increased happiness to the recipients.

As regards outdoor relief —

1. Greater care should be taken to insure adequacy of relief.

2. The aged recipients of out-relief should be periodically visited both by officers of the local authority (who might be women), and by voluntary visitors, as might be arranged with a local committee for voluntary aid.

3. As regards old persons given to drink or of dirty habits, they should not be enabled to remove themselves from control either by a pension or by the granting of outdoor relief.

All our evidence goes to show that one of the chief causes of pauperism is old age, and that with certain qualifications there is a tendency for the worker to drop out of the industrial ranks at a rather earlier age than previously. Against this may be set the case of those who apply to the Distress Committees in England, which seems to show that scarcely three per cent of the people who so apply are over sixty, but the fact is that the Distress Committees have had to deal with a somewhat exceptional state of things. The ordinary work

of the committee has been swamped by the casual laborers, twenty-two per cent of whom are young men who have never been taught a trade. It is in the workhouses that we find conclusive proof of the effect of old age upon pauperism, and both the majority and minority reports unite in condemning the association of respectable old people in public institutions with those who are unworthy and disreputable. Put in the words of the Poor Law Commission, "The Act forcing these decent old people into the workhouse has stained and tarnished their most valued treasure." Taking the figures of the pauper census of March 31, 1906, we find that of the persons relieved (not including lunatics or casuals, etc.) 183,125 were between the ages of 65 and 75, while 117,231 were over 75 and under 85, and, finally, 18,000 were over 85.

The majority report of the Poor Law Commission, therefore, recommended, as we have already stated, that special Poor Law institutions should be set aside for the aged, and that deserving old people who are not helpless and friendless should have adequate outdoor relief provided for them in their own homes. They would, of course, under this recommendation, still be paupers and

subject to regular inspection on the part of the Poor Law officers. They would lose their right of citizenship, however kindly was the treatment bestowed upon them. The minority report strongly objected to the aged being left to the tender mercies of the Poor Law, and it recommended that they should be dealt with, not as paupers at all, but either as recipients of pensions or as needing hospital and institutional treatment at the hands of the local Public Health authority. That is to say, the minority proposed to create another system of *local* pensions for those who have been or would be paupers because of their inability to maintain themselves, and because of the fact that they had not yet reached the age of 70 years, and therefore were disqualified for national old age pension. The cost of these local pensions would be defrayed out of the rates and not out of the Exchequer, but they would be administered by the existing pension committee in each case. Legislation has not taken this exact form. The Government decided, and has actually provided that the aged pauper who has reached the age of seventy shall also share in the benefit of the Old Age Pensions Act, and beginning with 1910 an additional

163,000 aged paupers have been added to the list of the recipients of national old age pensions.

To refer for a moment to the legislation in Australasia upon which to a large extent Mr. Asquith based his own scheme. The Old Age Pensions Act of New Zealand was passed in 1898, and has been several times amended since then, the last Amendment Act being passed in 1905. In that year the original maximum pension of £18 a year was raised to £26 a year, equivalent to 10 shillings a week. No distinction is made between married and single persons with this exception, that the maximum limit of income including pension, which for a single person is £60 a year, is, for a married couple, a joint income of £90 a year. No distinction is made between men and women, and the maximum pension may be paid to any person of the age of 65 or upwards, so long as he or she is resident in the colony, providing that they are not

(1) Maoris who receive grants under the Civil List Act of 1863.

(2) Aliens.

(3) Naturalized subjects who have not been naturalized one year.

(4) Chinese or other Asiatics, whether naturalized or not.

Deductions are made from the pension, as in England, on account of any private income which may be possessed, and these deductions are made on the following scale :

For every pound of annual income over £34, one pound is deducted from the maximum pension, and on account of the net capital value of property one pound is deducted for every £10 worth held by the applicant ; however, by the Amending Act of 1905, in allocating a pension, property up to £150 may be disregarded where any part of the property consists of that on which the pensioner permanently resides, and from which he derives no income.

The following conditions are laid down with regard to the payment of pensions in addition to those that have already been stated :

(1) The applicant must have resided in the Colony for twenty-five years with limited absence.¹

(2) During a period of twelve years previous to

¹Occasional absences not exceeding two years are allowed. The amending Act of 1900 also allowed a four years' absence provided that the applicant was not absent during the twelve months preceding the day on which the original Act was law, and where total actual residence was not less than twenty-five years. If a seaman can prove that his domicile is in the Colony his claim is not barred by absence on board a ship registered in the Colony.

his application he must not have been imprisoned for four months or on four occasions for any offense punishable by twelve months' imprisonment.

(3) During a period of twenty-five years previous to application he must not have been imprisoned for five years.

(4) Applicant must have neither deserted his or her wife or husband nor neglected to maintain his or her children.

(5) Applicant must be of good moral character and have for five years immediately preceding application led a sober and reputable life.

(6) Applicant must not have directly or indirectly deprived himself of property so as to qualify for a pension.

The chief official in the administration of this Act is a registrar at Wellington who is responsible to the Colonial Treasurer. The whole Colony is divided into 74 districts, each in charge of a deputy registrar. Where there is no deputy registrar, that is to say in small 'places remote from the chief centers of population, the duties of this office are discharged by clerks of stipendiary magistrate courts. It is the stipendiary magis-

trates who alone have power to grant or refuse pensions, and the examination of the applicant is made personally at the nearest court. The magistrate may, at his discretion, grant either the full pension allowed or a smaller amount. Each pension is granted for twelve months, and a fresh application must be made yearly for renewal. The pension is paid through the post office on the first day of each month; in fact, the post office supplies much of the machinery of distribution, and this will account for the comparatively slight cost of administration — less than two per cent of the entire amount. Any pensioner who is physically unfit to draw his pension in person may appoint an agent who, however, requires an authority signed by the magistrate, before he can collect the stipulated sum, which authority is renewed each year. Magistrates have power to amend or cancel pensions; for example, if a pensioner suddenly becomes possessed of property or income in excess of the amount allowed by law, or if a pensioner is convicted of drunkenness or any other offense. The Act has now been in operation since March 31, 1899, and the number of those who are qualified to receive pensions has gradually increased; the

amount expended has also increased, although the average amount for 1907 was £24 12s. per person for 13,257 pensioners as over against £24 17s. per person for 12,582 pensioners in 1906.

When in New Zealand I had the opportunity of a long talk with the then Prime Minister, Sir Richard Seddon, on the working of the Act, and I stated some of the objections that were made to it. His argument in brief amounted to this: "Until this Act was passed, we had not encouraged our working people to be sober, virtuous, and thrifty. If they happen to be unfortunate so far as work is concerned, or if illness has rendered it difficult for them to find employment, or if their wage has been very poor and unsatisfactory, we have practically condemned them to seek charitable relief in their old age. The effect of this old age pension at 65 will be to encourage habits of thrift, since there is now something for the aged worker to hope for." The Hon. W. P. Reeves, for many years High Commissioner for that Colony in London, stated: "The New Zealand pension is more likely to induce the poorest to lay by a few pounds to supplement the State's allowance, than it is to invite them to waste their last shilling because, forsooth, when they

come to 65 they are to be recipients of one shilling and five pence per day."

To quote the late Prime Minister once more: "I do not see that this pension can sap the independence of any man; it comes from the consolidated revenue to which every pensioner has contributed directly or indirectly for twenty-five years. Nobody objects to pensioning judges or civil servants; why then should we object to pensioning old men or women who have worked hard for their country?" The Act when it was passed was styled by one of the opposition, "A glorified system of charitable aid" — the very same expression that was used in England when our own Act was passed. But in New Zealand, those who opposed it have been converted, and no one would dream of attempting to obtain its repeal. In the minds of the people of New Zealand it is merely an installment of justice — one step in a large scheme for the reconstruction of society on democratic lines.

Both in New South Wales and Victoria a somewhat similar plan has been adopted. In Victoria twenty years is the length of time for which the applicant for a pension must have resided in the

Colony. The amount of accumulated property in New South Wales which is allowed without endangering the pension is £390. New South Wales has special officers appointed to do the work which is carried out by a stipendiary magistrate in New Zealand and Victoria. Both New South Wales and Victoria followed in the footsteps of New Zealand within twelve months; that is to say, their Acts dated from 1900. In the Acts of each of these two colonies there is a clause which allows the pension to be granted before 65 if the claimant is unable, through physical unfitness, to earn his own living, or has been permanently disabled by some unhealthy or hazardous occupation.

The story of the passing of the Old Age Pensions Act in Great Britain cannot be recounted at length, but the attitude taken by the House of Lords and by many of the Conservatives in the House of Commons, was one of grave suspicion if not actual hostility. In the House of Commons only twelve Unionists voted for the third reading of the Bill, eleven voted against it, and one hundred and forty did not vote. In the House of Lords, Lord Cromer attempted to limit the period of the Act to seven years, but this was held by the Speaker to be a

breach of the privileges of the House of Commons. Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Unionist party in the Upper House, while he did not reject the Bill, said that "it would have far-reaching and disastrous effects upon the future of the country." On another occasion he remarked, "The measure, I am much afraid, is one which will weaken the moral fiber of the nation and diminish the self-respect of our people." Lord Wemyss in the course of a very astonishing speech stated, "A system of demoralization would be established among the working classes, thrift would be done away with, families would cease to regard it as an obligation to maintain those of their members whose working days were past, and self-reliance would be diminished," while Lord Avebury thought the Bill would involve "an immense increase of taxation, perpetuate poverty, lower wages, and discourage thrift." These were only individual utterances with which many Unionists were in total disagreement.

Happily, however, the House of Lords, much as it disliked the measure, was not so ill-advised as to reject it, and accordingly, on January 1, 1909, at the post offices of England, Scotland, and Ireland, many

touching sights were witnessed as these aged men and women, who could hardly believe their good fortune, received their first week's pension.

Since then over 163,000 aged paupers have been added, who no longer receive relief from the Poor Law. Accordingly, we may expect that the cost of maintaining our 907,461 aged pensioners will be about £13,000,000 per annum. The cost of management will, however, be very small, chiefly due to the fact that Mr. Asquith, by instituting reforms in the revenue department, set free a number of trained officials for this work, and utilized the post office machinery for the general distribution of the pensions. The percentage of cost for management will thus be infinitesimal as compared with the Poor Law, in which some nineteen per cent of over £2,500,000 is spent on salaries of officers and the upkeep of institutions.

The relation of the Old Age Pensions Act to the Poor Law, and the relief which is thus afforded to the rates in different parts of the country, is a point which is worthy of note. For many years local authorities have been protesting against the inevitable increase in the rates as a result, first, of the improved standard of education, and, secondly,

of the additional demand made by the Poor Law authorities upon the local exchequers. In this latter respect the rates will be sensibly relieved by an Act which removes, in the first place, 744,000 people from the risk of becoming dependent upon the Poor Law, and, secondly, has taken over 163,165 actual paupers from under the control of the Poor Law, where they were maintained by local rates, and made them dependent upon national funds. The fact that this is a national charge is of the utmost importance. That no contribution is expected from the pensioner is also an equally important point, while the receipt of the Old Age Pension does not deprive its recipient of any franchise, right, or privilege, or inflict upon him any disability whatsoever. The pensioner must have been for at least twenty years a British subject and had his residence in the United Kingdom. In order to become entitled to the pension a man must not have habitually failed to work according to his ability, but if for ten years, up to the age of sixty, he has contributed to Friendly, Provident, or other societies or Trade-unions, he is recognized as having made proper provision under the Act, and his wife, if in other

respects qualified for a pension, is included in this concession made to the husband. Criminals and lunatics, and men convicted under the Inebriates Act of 1898, are disqualified.

As in New Zealand and in Australia, a calculation is made of the means of the applicant for a pension, and whether it be yearly income or property from which income could be expected, it must not exceed a certain amount. Roughly speaking, where the yearly incomes of pensioners do not exceed £21, they are entitled to the full amount of five shillings. The scale is then graduated up to £31 10s. at which amount only one shilling per week is allowed.¹ If it exceeds that amount per annum, no pension can be granted. As to the machinery by which this Act is carried out, it consists in the first place of the Local Government Board as the central authority and of a Pension Committee appointed for every borough and urban district having a population according to the last published census of 20,000 or over, and for every county (excluding the area of any such borough or council) by the

¹ As a matter of fact, however, the vast majority (over 90 per cent) are qualified by their necessitous circumstances to receive the full five shillings per week, and only 5308 receive so small a premium as one shilling per week.

council of the borough, district, or county. This local Pension Committee in each district need not necessarily consist of members of the council by which they are appointed. The Pension officers are appointed and paid by the government to act for the areas. The Postmaster-general, through the local post office, is empowered to make all arrangements for the payment of these weekly pensions. In Scotland and Ireland the Local Government Board, in each case, takes the place of the Local Government Board for England.

The Act is not final in its present form. The inclusion of the aged pauper has given great satisfaction, but in a comparatively few years the age at which the pension is granted will in all probability be reduced to sixty-five, although, of course, this will entail an enormous additional charge upon the National Exchequer. That charge I believe the people of this country will gladly pay. We think very little of voting many extra millions for armaments, and we call such expenditure "insurance against possible hostile attacks." Surely the insurance against the discomforts and miseries entailed by old age on the poor is at least as legitimate a national charge.

THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING THE POOR

It is only within the last fifty years that the community has deliberately set itself to the work of housing and rehousing its citizens. Any advance that has been made is due chiefly to the fact that the pressure of democracy in the city has compelled, in the first place, the local authority, and finally the government, to take steps to counteract this centripetal force which has driven men from the country to the town. For many centuries the old boroughs and corporations of England have been the authorities charged with the control and the ownership of houses and buildings. It may be noted that even to-day some of the medieval towns in England still possess a considerable amount of property, a portion of their incomes coming from rents of such property. If we go back to the fourteenth century, we find that the power to hold land and to own buildings upon that land was vested in the municipality. That power, under changed conditions, still re-

mains, although for the most part under the Housing and Working Classes Act, 1890, it is exercised chiefly in the direction of providing accommodation for the working classes.

In the olden time our towns were walled in order to protect the citizens against an invading enemy — even London was at one time a walled town. As all fear of invasion passed away, the inhabitants tended more and more to build upon the land lying outside the walls, until at last such defenses became obsolete. It was perhaps more fear than convenience which compelled men to gather in cities in those days, but to-day the city acts as a huge magnet, drawing to it the rural population and receiving year by year an immense addition to the number of its citizens.

The industrial revolution, to which reference has already been made, is responsible for the marked exodus from country to town — a movement which as yet shows little sign of abatement. It is this question of congested population in the city and a depopulated countryside, which has brought the whole housing question into prominence and compelled the attention of both municipalities and Parliament. The appointing of a Royal

Commission on Housing in 1884 was the first big step in the direction of reform, an outcome, no doubt, of the strenuous feeling on social questions which was a characteristic mark of the whole country in the "eighties." The late King Edward, then Prince of Wales, was upon that commission, the report of which revealed the terrible overcrowding existing in the tenements and insanitary slums of the big towns. The fact is that the city grew so rapidly that the municipalities were taken by surprise, and those who were at the head of the city governments, without experience and often lacking ideas, found themselves quite unable to assimilate this inrush of new life, and especially unable to devise ways and means of properly accommodating the vast hordes of newcomers. No scientific or well-planned attempt was made in this direction; it was left entirely to private enterprise, more or less unregulated. The result was that large numbers of the working classes, compelled to live near the factory owing to the exigencies of their labor, were crowded together in certain unhealthy districts. If new houses were built, they were not inspected. The jerry-builder was allowed to do much as he liked, his plea being

that the demand for houses must be satisfied. Accordingly, the housing reformer to-day finds himself face to face with a problem that is complicated by other social evils, in part created by bad housing, and certainly more or less irremovable while that difficulty remains untouched. Pauperism and crime, drunkenness, physical degeneration, disease, and high death rates are all bound up with the problem of housing. The Housing Commission, to which reference has already been made, had upon it not only our late King, but also men like Cardinal Manning, Lord Salisbury, Sir Charles Dilke, who acted as chairman, and many other men of influence. Its report has served as a basis for some of the reforms which have since been instituted, although at the same time it must be confessed that the movement in favor of Town Planning, Garden Cities, and Garden Suburbs is more modern. Finally, the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, while it is not by any means a perfect piece of legislation, has brought home to the public the extent of existing housing evils, and has secured for municipalities fuller powers for dealing with those evils, and some facilities in respect both of obtaining land and money. The

latter part of the Act, that which deals with Town Planning, is so valuable that we shall refer to it at some length.

It must not, however, be thought that the housing problem is unknown in rural districts. It is not exaggeration to say that there are hundreds of villages in England in which it is impossible to house another family without overcrowding, in which no cottages are available for young married people, and from which therefore, as a direct result, there is a constant drift to the town. Many of the cottages that still remain possess considerable antiquity and externally are picturesque, but the thatches are in a ruinous condition, the walls are damp and mildewed, the floor is often nothing more than earth and clay, the water supply is wholly lacking as are all sanitary conveniences. The landlord refuses to make habitable such cottages, and pulls them down when the old people die. He pleads as his excuse for not building fresh cottages that the cost is too great, and that the laborer is not able to pay an adequate rent. Both in the town and in the country we have aspects of the same problem. So far as the great city is concerned, the tendency is to-day, by means

of decentralization, by rapid electric transit, by cheaper and more convenient houses in the suburbs, to draw the working classes from the center of the town to the broad belt of land which is its circumference. Hence the movement in favor of city making, Garden suburbs, and Garden Cities.

Just one or two figures may be given to show how great is the crowding in the industrial centers: The Census Commissioners of 1901 described as overcrowded 392,000 tenements in which were living 2,667,000 persons; that is to say, 8.2 per cent of the whole population of England and Wales were officially reported as overcrowded in the last census. This is a considerable improvement upon the previous census of 1891, and it is hoped that the census of 1911, owing to the vast change that cheap rapid transit has made, will show that this percentage of overcrowding has been halved, and that with this decrease in the number of overcrowded tenements has come a corresponding diminution in death rates and disease. It is, however, still a sufficiently serious matter that more than half a million people live in dwellings of only one room. To-day in London, with all its immense wealth,

nearly two thirds of the whole population live in dwellings of not more than four rooms in all, while in Glasgow, famous for its splendid municipal enterprise, no less than one fifth of the people live in one-room dwellings, and more than half the people have houses of not more than two rooms. Edinburgh, the "Modern Athens," is not quite so bad, yet even so, fifty per cent of the dwellings in which families are housed consist of one and two rooms. In Glasgow and Edinburgh the evil is chiefly due to the tenement system — a system which still has a hold in London, but the growth of which has been checked by the expansion of the city into the country. Up to the present this expansion has had its disadvantages. We have expended huge sums of money in order to sweep away insanitary slums and remove these plague spots from the centers of our cities. Thus the London County Council made a clearance in Bethnal Green of over thirty-one acres at a cost of £1,045,000 and constructed on the spot model dwellings with the result that the death rate was reduced from forty to twenty per thousand. But what is the use of cleaning insanitary areas and removing slums if similar areas and slums are allowed to spring up on the out-

skirts of the city? We deplore the towniness of our towns, and yet at the same time we have done little to prevent the new land which is being occupied from taking on the general air of dinginess and monotony which clings to the centers of population. Nothing can be more depressing than to go into one of the new working-class suburbs and to witness how, under the influence of speculating builders who have no imagination and who want the largest return for their money, the town has been allowed to grow uncontrolled and ill planned. In many cases it must be admitted that some of these new suburbs will present in twenty years' time just such a problem to the housing reformer of that day as the insanitary area in the center of the town does to us. The art of city making means so much more than a cheap and comfortable abode. In a dim kind of way the working classes of Great Britain have at last come to understand that you can no more leave the growth of a town to chance than you can the growth of a child. They are demanding a more orderly conception of civic life; more responsibility and more foresight on the part of the municipality; and this demand, there is every reason to believe,

will be largely satisfied if only the new Housing and Town Planning Act is given a fair chance.

There are two problems, then, with which we are especially concerned. One is the clearance of the slum and the removal of all the older insanitary dwellings in the center of the town, and the second is the proper and adequate control of the growth of the town, so that we may have instead of these dreary, monotonous, working-class streets stretching right out into the green field like the tentacles of some gigantic octopus, an orderly and planned Garden Suburb which will give the maximum of sunlight to each house, which will preserve the trees and shrubs and rural amenities, and add a fresh touch of greenery by means of the grass edges to the road and the trees which are planted along them. Above all, let the houses themselves be well built and well designed, not "brick boxes with slate lids," but charming cottages such as can be constructed at a comparatively small cost, in which the owner or the occupier can take pride, and to which he can escape from his work in the town with a sense of relief and satisfaction. If these objects are to be achieved by our democracy, the essentials are, first, cheap land, in the hands of the munici-

pality if possible, and secondly, cheap and rapid transit. The best way to clear the slum in the center of the town is surely to force on the competition of good and cheap houses in the suburb. What has made the cost of clearing a slum area almost prohibitive is the price of the land itself. The price of that land is conditioned by the necessities of those who have to live on it. If there is a great demand for houses in any one neighborhood, the land is sure to increase in value. The moment that demand is satisfied, the price either goes down or is stationary. If the workingman can be accommodated outside of the city more adequately and more cheaply, the probability at least is that he will be willing to leave the city slum, and with a reduction in the demand for city houses will come a reduction in the rent and in the overcrowding. The first step, then, is to get cheap land and good houses in the suburbs. How is this to be accomplished? Mr. Lloyd George, by means of the Land Taxes in his Budget, has probably made this easier of achievement. It is the land monopoly that keeps land dear. If those who own land on the outskirts of a growing town persist in refusing to sell, they can force up the price of

land to such an extent that it is difficult for the working classes to pay the necessary rent. Mr. Lloyd George, by means of the Undeveloped Land Tax and the Increment Tax combined, has brought the right kind of economic pressure to bear. No owner of land will hold that land for an indefinite period if he is compelled to pay taxes on its valuation by a government valuer. If, when that land is built upon, it tends to greatly advance in price, owing not to his own exertions, but to the efforts of the community generally and the growth of population, he is to pay, and rightfully pay, a small tax on the amount by which that land has increased in value.

The first remedy, then, is the destruction of the land monopoly by means of taxation; the second and hardly less important is the provision of cheap rapid transit by means of street railways and electric trains owned by the municipality. Before such railways are constructed, before even the plan of their construction is made public, the municipality should be empowered to buy up land on both sides of the roads so that it will get some at least of the increased value of the land, due to the construction of the new street railway, and

will be able to make provision for the housing of its overcrowded citizens. But even when all this has been done, there will still be need for the Housing and Town Planning Act. By Part 3 of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, the local authority was empowered to purchase land, and to construct upon that land houses in which the working classes could be accommodated, letting these houses at such rents as would cover all charges, including repayment of loans and interest. Under the new Act of last year, large areas of land, as sites for building working-class dwellings, may now be acquired by local authorities in anticipation of future needs. Such schemes as the Hampstead Garden Suburb, or Bournville, built by the Cadburys, or Eartwick by the Rowntrees, or Port Sunlight by Mr. Lever, can now all be promoted by the municipality. The land can be acquired by agreement, or it can be purchased compulsorily after submitting the scheme to the Local Government Board.

The great difficulty in the past has been that of obtaining land at a reasonable price. In England, where so much of the land is in the hands of a comparatively few men, and where feudalism is

still a force, to obtain the land required for housing has often been quite impossible, but now, provided the local authority can show that the land is suitable, and that it can be acquired without injuring the owners of neighboring lands, the Local Government Board undertakes to meet and to deal with the objections which are sure to be raised by the landlords. Finally, the amount of compensation, based on the fair market value of the land, is determined, and no additional allowance is to be made on account of the compulsory purchase.

The Town Planning section of the Act is contained in Clauses 54 to 67, and secures by means of schemes prepared by local authorities or by landowners — schemes which of course must be sanctioned by the Local Government Board — that, in future, land in the vicinity of towns shall be so developed as to prevent the growth of new slum areas. It also secures a greater degree of public control in the laying out of new housing areas. It is "Site Planning," therefore, rather than "Town Planning" in the strict sense, but it nevertheless establishes what is a most important principle, viz. that the owner must consider not only his own private profit in the use of the land for building

purposes, but also the public interest and the well-being of the community.

The local authorities who administer the Act may either devise the town planning scheme, or they may be the means of causing a town plan to be prepared by the landowner or by some society working on a coöperative basis, but the Local Government Board must in every case sanction the scheme, and a public local inquiry must be held by the Board before such sanction is granted. The Local Government Board hopes, by means of conferences, to obtain agreement between the local authority and the owners before the Town Planning scheme is formally submitted for approval, and the element of compulsion is to be used as little as possible. If, however, the local authority or the owners of the land, as the case may be, have failed to take the requisite steps for having a satisfactory Town Planning scheme prepared where such a scheme ought to be made, or to adopt any scheme which has been prepared, after it has been shown to be advisable, the Local Government Board may step in and enforce the carrying out of the scheme by *mandamus*. These powers are conferred by Section 61 of the Act.

What is the nature of the land which may be the subject of a town plan? Section 54 provides that a town planning scheme may be made for any land which is in course of development or any land which appears likely to be used for building purposes; land likely to be used for the purpose of open spaces, parks, and streets, or land likely to be used for any purpose incidental to a town planning scheme. In this way the scheme may be made to include almost every kind of land that is found in close proximity to a town, and in planning out the land the Act clearly contemplates the inclusion in the plan of existing parks and open spaces, so that such open spaces could be reserved for some years when once the town planning scheme has been approved, even if very little actual building is carried out in the neighborhood.

Another rather important point is that if the scheme is prepared by a local authority, the land to be included in the scheme need not necessarily be within the area of the local authority as long as it is in the neighborhood of the area. It is a little difficult to say how far ahead those who are responsible for the town planning scheme may look. Land that is "likely to be used for building pur-

poses" may mean land which in all probability will be used next year, or it may mean land, as in Germany, likely to be used in the next thirty years. If this question should arise, the decision of the Local Government Board is to be final. The "Lex Adickes" of Frankfurt and other towns in Germany enables land which has already been built upon to be dealt with by a town planning scheme, and in the center of the town such houses may be completely demolished and the area rebuilt upon different lines. All that our Act enables us to do is to include pieces of land already built upon in the scheme when there is any special reason for so doing, and if necessary to demolish or alter existing buildings in order to make a satisfactory scheme. Section 54 of the Act provides that the objects of the town planning are "securing proper sanitary conditions, amenity, and convenience in connection with the laying out and the use of the land, and of any neighboring lands." It is clear that all the circumstances of the case have to be taken into account, and the land must be so divided that the demands of "traffic, health, and beauty" may be met to the fullest possible extent. We have already deplored the growth of the new working-

class slums around London. A town planning scheme would insure the building of beautiful suburbs on the basis of sound, sanitary conditions, providing the maximum of sunlight, fresh air, and vegetation. These terms may be said to be included in the words of the Act; for example, the word "amenity" may be reasonably held to cover everything which makes for natural beauty, whether it be the arrangement of gardens and open spaces, or the protection of the district from noise, ugliness, and smoke. To safeguard the amenities of a district is to protect it from disfigurement of any kind.

The town planning scheme is defective in one respect. In the case of the Prussian Act, already alluded to, land is given free for the great arterial roads, and, in addition, the original owners have to bear the whole cost of constructing the street. In England forty to sixty feet is the normal width provided; it is hoped that by the schemes made under the Act, the main roads may be much wider as promenades and boulevards, while the side streets can, if necessary, be reduced in width. By the new Development Act, 1909 (Section 11), it is possible to purchase a strip of land on either side of the road in order that the authority may

reap the increased value or betterment, and it is possible that in some way or other this provision may be applied to the main roads of a town planning scheme.

Perhaps the most important of all the remaining provisions is that which enables the local authorities "to limit the number of buildings and the height and the character of those buildings." In England we have always made a point of limiting the height of the houses that can be constructed either in or outside a town, but more is required than merely regulating the height — we must limit the number of houses which may be built upon a given area of land. This has been done with excellent results at some of the garden cities and suburbs carried out by voluntary arrangement or by individual owners. A few words about some of these experiments may not be without interest, seeing that they have attracted so much attention.

The Garden City at Letchworth in Herts has three objects and aims in view, which may be stated in three propositions:

(1) The creation of new towns away from the crowded city centers — towns built according to a plan in which every hygienic safeguard will be employed.

(2) The permanent association of urban and rural life secured by industrial decentralization.

(3) The combination of manufacture and agriculture; thus helping to solve the twin problem of overcrowding in the towns and depopulation in the rural districts.

The Garden City authorities estimate that something like one million people in London are engaged in or dependent upon industries that might very well be carried on in the country. Mr. Ebenezer Howard was the first to advocate the idea of a garden city, and the company which was formed purchased an area of 3800 acres close to Hitchin, at a price of about £40 an acre. The estate includes the two villages of Willian and Norton. The population, in the first instance only 300, is now over 6000. There are eight miles of new roads, seventeen miles of water mains, eleven miles of sewers, over one thousand houses erected, and fourteen factories; there are churches, chapels, social institutes, parks and schools, — all, in fact, that goes to make up a thriving and industrial city — and this within five years. The estate meant an outlay of £151,550. A recent revaluation shows that the land is now worth £379,500. After deducting the cost of road making, the erection of gas and water plant, construction of sewers,

etc., this leaves a net appreciation in the value of the land of £131,000. It must not be forgotten that 2500 acres of the land is still let at its agricultural rent, so that the 1300 acres upon which the town property is built, must have very greatly increased in value. There are good grounds for assuming that in the future, owing to the increased value of the land, the Garden City will be free from all local taxes.

Bournville is a garden village built by Cadbury, the cocoa manufacturer. It is situated on the outskirts of Birmingham, and is perhaps the most beautiful of all the garden suburbs in England. It is controlled by a public trust, for Mr. Cadbury has handed over the whole of the property as a free gift to the people. The main conditions of the Trust Deed, with regard to the letting of land, are first, that the houses shall be either semi-detached or in blocks of four. Secondly, they must not occupy more than one quarter of the sites, and there must be some 600 square yards of garden for each house. The factories must not occupy more than one fifteenth of the whole estate, and the land cannot be sold outright, but is let on a 999 years' lease. Mr. George Cadbury, in handing

over this munificent gift to the public, said, "I feel strongly that it would be a lamentable mistake to herd people together in localities other than those they now occupy, thereby creating more slums." Bournville has certainly demonstrated that the housing of the working classes in thoroughly good, beautiful, and sanitary cottages (with a large garden attached) is quite possible, and that a return of four per cent can be made on the capital to cover ground rent, rates and taxes, repairs, and total management. In proof of the success of this experiment I mention the following facts:

(1) The cottages are never vacant, but there is always a keen competition for renting them at from 5 shillings and upwards per week.

(2) The general pride taken in the appearance of the houses and the gardens is everywhere apparent.

(3) There is practically no loss owing to arrears of rent.

(4) The health of the community is extraordinarily good, the death rate being only 7.5 thousand for the last six years, while in Birmingham, close by, for the same number of years it was 17.9 per thousand.

I may add that the death rate in the Garden City, Letchworth, was only 4.8 per thousand in 1907.

A similar experiment has been made by Mr. Joseph Rowntree (Chairman of Rowntree & Co.)

at Eartwick, two miles from York, where 120 acres of land has been secured in the name of the village Trust. By the deed of foundation one tenth of the land, exclusive of roads, is to be laid out and used as parks, recreation grounds, and open spaces. The houses are not to occupy more than one quarter of the sites upon which they are built, and most of the houses which have already been constructed have gardens of not less than 350 square yards. There are strips of grass about five feet wide between the roadway and the foot-path on each side, and on these strips trees have been planted. The houses are let at about 4 shillings 8 pence per week, the tenants paying the rates, which amount to about an additional $7\frac{1}{2}$ pence a week.

Port Sunlight, the model village founded by Messrs. Lever Brothers, is another illustration of how employers can house their workpeople. Lever Brothers are soap makers, and the village which they have established is known all over the world by reason of the fact that it was created out of waste land and was altogether lacking in any charm. Now it is almost an ideal spot for a workingman. The village is under the control

of the firm to a greater extent than Bournville is in the hands of the Cadburys, but it is none the less a useful and valuable experiment in housing.

Some statistics are worth quoting, in order to show how startling is the contrast between the healthfulness of the big city and the garden city or suburb :

Infant mortality in Bournville for 6 years, 78.8 per thousand
 Infant mortality in Birmingham for 6 years, 170 per thousand
 Average height of Bournville boy of 11 years of age, 4 ft. 9 in.
 Average height of Birmingham slum boy of 11 years of age,
 4 ft. 2 in.

Average weight of Bournville boy of 11 years of age, 69 lbs.
 Average weight of Birmingham slum boy of 11 years of age,
 53 lbs.

Greater chest measurement of Bournville boy over Birmingham boy 3 in.

¹ Average height of 14-year-old children in Port Sunlight Schools 62.2 in.

Average height of 14-year-old children in Liverpool Council Schools 52.2 in.

Average weight of 14-year-old children in Port Sunlight Schools 108 lbs.

Average weight of 14-year-old children in Liverpool County Schools 71.1 lbs.

¹ These statistics were obtained by Dr. Arkle of Liverpool at the request of the Liverpool Education Committee. They were the result of most careful methods, which insured the absolute reliability of his information, and necessitated his examining *all* the children in various grades of schools in Liverpool. The conclusions, though startling, may be relied upon for their accuracy.

Even if it were only the question of rent, it would be necessary to seriously consider the construction of these garden suburbs. Let us look at London just for a moment. The Royal Commission which issued such a voluminous report upon London traffic bears witness to the necessity of spreading the population over a wider area. The population per acre, according to the report, is:

Central area of London	148
London County	54
Districts adjacent to London	16.6
Extra London	2.5

On this large area the population only averages 25 per acre, and yet in London one seventh of the whole live under overcrowded conditions. An acre of land in London may be worth £120,000 or even much more; twenty-five miles away it may be bought for £50. If the two can be linked up by rapid transit, the great inequality in price would tend to disappear and rent would come down accordingly. Mr. H. G. Wells, the well-known Socialist writer, looks forward to the time when London will have a population of 20,000,000 with an area of 2800 square miles. He may be right, but I do not think he is, and I believe that the

garden city method is a far wiser and truer solution of the problem of overcrowding.

Is it necessary for the dweller in the town to live under overcrowded conditions, without sunshine, open spaces, or fresh air? Provided that the water supply is good, the sanitation scientific, the house accommodation adequate and reasonable in price, the gardens and parks numerous, there is no *a priori* reason why life in the town should be unhealthy. I suppose we cannot expect to see the tide of population turned back from the town to the country, or at any rate we cannot expect that this return will be on a large scale, so that the obvious thing to do is to remedy the existing evil wherever possible, and prevent a repetition of these abuses in the future. A high death rate accompanies high rents. If cheap accommodation cannot be provided in the town — and at present it seems impossible — there is no doubt an effort must be made to get the working classes into the suburbs and even into the country beyond the suburb. It has been pointed out that the general death rate in the working class districts of Glasgow is nearly double that of the whole city, and a table for four years, drawn up by Dr. Newman, then Medical

Officer of Finsbury in London, shows with the relentless logic of figures that the death rate in that district varies in exact proportion to the number of rooms occupied by a family. Thus the death rate is:

In one-room tenements	32 to 39 per thousand
In two-room tenements	22 per thousand
In three-room tenements	11 to 14 per thousand
In four-room tenements	about 6 per thousand

Whatever may be the advantages of town life, the disadvantages are unquestioned. Early and premature death, inability to resist disease, physical degeneration, suffering entailed upon little children, — all these and many other questions face us when we take up the housing problem in the town. The urbanization of a people under present conditions of town housing is destructive of physique, mental strength, and moral character. An educated democracy will therefore press for still more stringent regulations with regard to sanitation and overcrowding in the town. It will urge upon the local authority the importance of cheap rapid transit, probably by electric tram from the heart of the town into the country. It will place upon the same authority the responsibility for the purchase

of land and the building of cottages in connection with the town planning schemes. It will ask that the rent of these cottages shall not be more than will cover the bare cost of ground, buildings, upkeep, and maintenance.

We may go one step further and say that it is not sufficient to solve the housing problem in the town, but that in every rural district, by means of the new Housing Act of Mr. John Burns, the Small Holdings Act, and the Development Act, — all three recent democratic measures, — an attempt will be made to improve the housing conditions of rural dwellers. To give to the agricultural laborer contentment and independence upon the soil is one of the first steps to the solution of the housing and unemployed problems of the town.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

IN no direction has democracy made greater headway in England than in connection with our city life ; it is in the city that the will of the people can express itself most clearly ; it is in local government that the popular voice can make itself heard. The British people have never believed in a highly centralized autocracy ; even a government department can only enforce its will when public opinion in the municipality is with it. We have been trained in the belief that every locality and district should be allowed to govern itself so far as its own local needs are concerned, and the result is that with the increasing growth of the town has come an increased demand for additional powers. "The more complex our civilization," said Sir Arthur Helps, "the more necessary is paternal government." Apply this to the towns, and what is the result ? The larger the city, the more varied its needs, the more highly industrialized its trade, the more necessary it is that the local authority should step in, not only to protect the individual citizen, but also to provide

for him those great public services in satisfactory form, without which life in the town would become unbearable. This means that the city will gradually take into its own hands a large portion of the work which was at one time carried out by private contractors, such as is so carried out even to-day in the United States. Municipal democracy means city ownership of gas, water, street railways, baths, washhouses, free libraries, recreation grounds and parks, and fifty other services tending to ameliorate the condition of the town population, and to increase the honesty and efficiency of local government. Whatever accusation may be brought against the British city, on the whole its government is directly democratic and free from corruption. The people who rule over us are honest and well meaning. The great fault of our city fathers is not so much lack of honesty or sincerity as lack of imagination, and to some extent lack of power. It is still the case that in our great towns like Liverpool, Glasgow, Birmingham, not to speak of London, the economic pressure upon the poor is very severe, and this notwithstanding the fact that the municipality may be doing very much to extend the benefits of the big public services to

all classes of the population, and, generally speaking, to increase the amenities of life. It has often been said that democracy will first be fully recognized in our big cities, and it certainly is the case that in these cities the mind of the people is expressing itself more fully and more completely than elsewhere. Great progress has been made in spite of the setback which the Progressive forces received at the London County Council election some years ago. The recent election has almost equalized matters again, and there is not much doubt that at the next election the Progressives will be in the majority. They lost ground not because there had been any corruption, for the most careful investigation failed to discover any traces of misgovernment, but simply because a large section of the ratepayers were scared by the talk of socialism, and by the fear that their rates would be increased if what they regarded as a socialist policy prevailed. Indeed, it may be said that the fear of the ratepayer is the great hindrance to progress in England to-day. We measure all improvements in administration and municipal management by actual cost. The democracy is not broad and generous in its view; it is rather narrow and par-

simonious. No doubt, if Parliament could relieve the ratepayer of his worst anxiety by a readjustment of local rates as compared with imperial taxation, it would be much more possible for our city authorities to take up the movement in favor of municipal ownership. Meanwhile, the small shopkeeper and the small owner of property will fight bitterly against any tendency on the part of the rates to increase, no matter how great may be the benefits conferred upon the city by any suggested improvement. Yet the municipal spirit continues to grow upon sound lines. It is an undoubted fact that there is much more civic pride to be found in big industrial centers to-day than at any time in the history of England. The possibility of giving an equal opportunity to every man in respect at least of great public services, has seized upon the imagination and the hearts of our town dwellers. To make the city as perfect as possible for all sorts and conditions of men is the ideal we have set before us.

Let us look at this question of municipal ownership, and ask ourselves whether there is any special need for the movement which is being urged almost with fierceness by the Labor Party of this country.

We have to remember that as things are at present, we stand or fall by the success of the town, and that in these towns it is an admitted fact that a very large percentage, anything from 20 to 30 per cent, are living under conditions which do not make for health and strength and fully developed powers. Nearly four fifths of the people of this country now live in towns, and the countryside has been proportionately robbed of its population. Some of the best of our men, both from the rural districts and from the towns, are emigrating to our colonies because opportunities are lacking for them here in the old country. It is therefore all the more necessary that the city should take hold of those who remain behind and not only fit them for the industrial struggle, but give them some hope of permanent comfort and independence under a well-ordered government. The worker in the town has otherwise no hope for the future. Like many millions of his fellow men he is landless; he has no stake in the soil; if he finds himself unemployed in the city, he has absolutely no resource left. It is for this reason that the pressure on the municipality has been so great during the time of trade depression in England.

Everywhere in the city men witness the great contrast between the luxury of the rich and wealthy and the sordid destitution of the poor — a contrast that has its corresponding parallels in death rates and disease. Our city authorities are beginning to recognize this fact. They are asking that the life of the town shall be made healthy; that its young citizens shall be well educated, that such education shall not cost a very poor town more than a very wealthy city. They demand that all which gives largeness of outlook to the people shall be provided in the shape of museums, libraries, picture galleries, and, finally, they ask for a minimum of security and comfort for all.

The history of the modern town dates back to the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835. Later on we had the Local Government Acts, 1882 and 1894, while London had its own Acts of 1888 and 1889. The municipalities proper range in size from cities with a population of three quarters of a million to townships with a population of little over one thousand. We have in addition Urban District Councils, which no doubt in time will all become municipalities unless the movement for wider local government areas is successful. Ac-

according to the returns of the Local Government Board for England and Wales alone, the total amount raised by public rates in these cities and districts amounted during the year 1905-1906 to £58,138,640, including £26,965,263 in the shape of poor rates. London alone raised £14,843,048. The government makes grants-in-aid to these local authorities for various purposes, including education, to the extent of nearly £20,000,000, and in addition the local authorities have a revenue from rents, waterworks, gasworks, electric light, street railways, harbors, docks, markets, cemeteries, farms, baths, washhouses, libraries, museums, etc., of £35,612,449. Moreover, the local authorities borrow from government funds monies for various new undertakings, and the loans outstanding at the present time are not much short of £400,000,000. These huge figures indicate in a very striking way the vast importance of local government activities, and the enormous sums that are now involved give at least a faint idea of the powers that have gradually been obtained by the city authorities. In fact, one of the greatest difficulties with which the local authority is faced to-day in England is in respect of the innumerable

powers which it possesses stated in a large number of Acts of Parliament, and therefore so involved that the average citizen in his attempt to understand what his council may and may not do, is apt to give up the task in despair. In order to produce cosmos out of chaos, the Acts of Parliament which refer to the powers of public municipal corporations must be codified and simplified. The Public Health Act, 1875, requires references to over 600 other Acts of Parliament, while the present Poor Law can only be explained by reference to 400 other Acts and 18,000 reported cases. It seems fairly clear, therefore, that the local authority must be guided to a large extent, at all events for the present, by a professional expert, the business of the citizens being rather to pronounce for or against certain general principles which can be adopted and carried into effect by trained officials. The vast expenditure to which reference has been made may well give us pause were it not for the fact that side by side with the increase in rates has come a great increase in rateable value; for example, the rateable value in 1908 of England and Wales was £212,757,000, as over against £67,700,000 in 1850; that is to say, the rateable value was .

three times as great in 1908 as in 1850, although the population had not quite doubled. To put it another way, the increase in wealth, as measured by the rateable value, has grown faster than the population, and the same fact holds good with regard to the annual revenue from all sources.

Turning once more to the question of ownership, we must be careful not to be misled by the statistics of local indebtedness which bulk so largely in the speeches of those who are opposed to every form of municipal ownership or trading. We unfortunately have no figures which would show the large amount of property in the possession of the municipalities, but we do know that a considerable proportion of their indebtedness is on municipal undertakings which may be regarded as valuable assets representing land, buildings, plant, markets, etc. Many of these undertakings provide a substantial return on the invested capital, so that £207,805,000 invested in trading undertakings cannot be regarded as debt in the ordinary sense any more than it would be regarded as debt if sunk in a business undertaking. The local authorities to-day are the largest employers of labor, and in many respects the biggest traders in the

whole country. In England and Wales the local authorities (apart from Scotland and Ireland), including the Metropolitan Water Board, had in 1905-1906 a capital of £118,823,741, invested in water supplies producing gross annual receipts of £4,429,778. Out of the profits of gas, water, electricity, and street railways the county boroughs alone paid in 1905-1906 the sum of £607,208 clear profit to the relief of the rates, and this notwithstanding the fact that reserve, insurance, and depreciation funds were much larger than would have been the case in private undertakings. The net profits from the Birmingham street railways in 1908-1909 were £35,000; from gas, £65,312; and from markets, etc., £3933. There was a deficit on their water supply, which was a most costly undertaking, and must inevitably be a burden for some few years to come, but even taking into account the big loss of bringing the water from Wales, the surplus on municipal undertakings was still £39,254. Bolton had a total surplus of £32,861 the same year; Bradford, £27,397; Burnley, £23,147; Hull, £51,907; and Nottingham, £72,543. It will thus be seen that in many large towns these municipal undertakings, which are of

course in the nature of monopolies, are often lucrative in character and, if well managed, bring considerable sums to the municipal exchequer. It should also be pointed out that most of these municipal enterprises, if they were not municipal monopolies, would inevitably become private enterprises, as is so often the case in the United States. Take, for example, the supply of gas — a very large number of municipalities own their own gas plant and manufacture all the gas that is required for the locality. In 1905-1906 £23,716,522 were invested in municipal gasworks, and the revenue was £7,073,249. Perhaps the fiercest battle has been waged about the ownership of street railways, and here the municipalities, as over against the cities of the United States, have been entirely successful. It is now admitted that the municipal operation of street railways, chiefly by electricity, has been an immense improvement on private management. The municipal tramways of England and Wales in 1907-1908 carried 1,991,143,430 passengers at an average fare of 1.04 penny per mile. The total capital outlay was £44,920,000, producing a net revenue of £3,288,000. In this same year the profits from the municipal street

railways of Leeds in Yorkshire contributed £64,-280 to the relief of the rates. It must be remembered, as I have already said, that side by side with these profits there are the repayments out of revenue, and the allocation of large sums for depreciation. It is only since 1894 that the municipalities have owned their own street railways, with the exception of three towns, Huddersfield, Blackpool, and Plymouth, but since 1894 almost every important city has purchased or laid down street railways within its area. Even so late as 1906 the Board of Trade returns show that there were 175 local authorities owning their own street railways, and although at the same time there still existed 137 private companies, these companies were much smaller and were tending to diminish in number. Something like thirty towns are unable to take over the street railways until the leases held by companies expire, but this is only a matter of a comparatively few years, and every year sees private companies passing under municipal management.

Nearly eight hundred municipalities now provide their own electric supply. In 1908-1909 Croydon, not far from London, showed a profit of about

£7000 on its electric supply undertaking, while Salford in Lancashire the same year showed a profit of £6500. In 1905 the number of municipal undertakings making a profit was 115, and although in sixty-seven cases installations showed a loss, the average loss was less than £100 per township, and in forty-two cases the plant had only been run for three years. It is now generally understood that it is too much to expect an electric lighting and power installation to pay a profit during the first four or five years. Since that time the number of towns showing a loss on electric lighting and power has diminished, while in some cases the profits have largely increased. Big towns like Glasgow, Manchester, and Liverpool, with large generating stations and economical production, have been able to supply an increasing number of consumers with electric lighting and power, at a very small charge, and nevertheless make a profit after all the repayments and the striking off of big sums for depreciation. Perhaps Glasgow is one of the most successful cities in this respect, with over 15,000 consumers, and a value in plant considerably over £1,000,000.

So far as the housing of the working classes

is concerned I have pointed out in a previous article that municipalities may, under Part 3 of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, purchase land and build houses for the working classes. By a series of repayments extending over 30 or 40 years, this land eventually becomes the property of the community, clear of all debt, but it is impossible to regard this form of municipal enterprise as profitable from the monetary point of view, since it is generally understood that the rent which is charged to the working people shall not exceed what is necessary to make the repayment charges, to pay interest on the loan, and to maintain the property in good condition. There is, however, real benefit accruing to the community in the shape of decent, well-equipped houses, which set a high standard for other owners, and, generally speaking, raise the rateable value of the district. Before the Act of 1890 huge sums of money had been spent in clearing slums and rehousing the working classes by London, Birmingham, Glasgow, Manchester, Greenock, and Wolverhampton. Since the passing of that Act, Glasgow cleared 88 acres at a cost of £600,000, and has expended something like £2,000,000 on housing.

About 2000 dwellings, containing nearly 4000 rooms, have been erected by the municipality, and altogether with the lodging houses show a profit of between 4 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Liverpool has erected over 1200 tenements which, although they pay no profit, will, in thirty or forty years' time, put the ratepayers in possession of much valuable property. The clearances in Birmingham in the center of the city have resulted in gradually increasing the rateable value of that portion of the city, and at the same time very sensibly diminishing the death rate. The ground rents produce about £46,000 per annum, and the rents of the houses that were only repaired and not pulled down, bring in another £17,000 per annum gross. Birmingham has also made experiments in cottage dwellings not so centrally situated. Manchester, in addition to such clearances, is developing on the outskirts of the city an estate of 250 acres, the land alone costing £36,000. Perhaps the best-known undertaking of all was that inaugurated by the London County Council under the old Progressive régime. Both at Tooting and at Tottenham big estates were purchased, that at Tottenham consisting of 225 acres. It is outside

the area of the London County Council, that body being empowered to build in other districts by a special Act of Parliament. It is probable that much of this land will be used for housing people other than the working classes. In addition to these big schemes, almost every municipality of consequence has built cottages for the working classes on a proportionate scale, and while it is not anticipated that the municipality will compete with private enterprise to any great extent in this direction, it is certainly a most valuable power which no town would like to part with, since competition with the private builder tends to prevent rents from being raised to an artificial level.

What are the chief benefits accruing from municipalization of public utilities in Great Britain? They may be summed up in a very few words. Firstly, a more efficient and a more extended service is secured by means of municipal ownership; secondly, cheaper rates are obtained by the citizens consuming gas, water, electric light, etc.; thirdly, the profits of these municipal enterprises, which would otherwise go into the pockets of private owners, flow into the city coffers and tend to relieve

the municipal exchequer; fourthly, the conditions of labor in connection with these public services are greatly improved; fifthly, the public services are worked in the interests of the whole community, and for the public good rather than for public gain; sixthly, the ownership of one public service enables the city to run other public services more economically and more cheaply. Generally speaking, it is to the interest of the city that the citizens should have complete control of all the big monopolies.

Perhaps there can be no stronger argument in favor of municipal ownership than the corruption and inefficiency which so often prevail in cities where all the public services are run by private companies. It would ill become an Englishman, who has received on many occasions kindly hospitality in the United States, to refer to the many failures of private ownership in American cities, but there seems to be little doubt that city government in the United States is on the whole below the level of that which prevails in Great Britain and on the Continent, and it is difficult to suggest an explanation which goes more to the root of the matter than that which is given by the ad-

vantages of municipal ownership in the older countries. One argument against municipal ownership, which has to be met in England at all events, is that in many cases the city government is confined in its enterprises to its own immediate and perhaps narrow boundary. It cannot, without special authority, go outside its boundary, however advantageous such an extension may be to the surrounding districts. Private companies, on the other hand, whether for gas, water, or traction, are able to serve large communities, linking them together irrespective of municipal boundaries. In this respect, however, a considerable change is coming over public opinion, and there is little doubt that before long it will be possible to grant these powers of extension to the bigger municipalities without the costly method of obtaining a private Act of Parliament. No better summary of the conditions of public ownership could be given than that in which the Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation (U.S.A.) stated its more important conclusions :

“Public utilities, whether in public or private hands, are best conducted under a system of legalized and regulated monopoly.

"Public utilities in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"The success of municipal operation of public utilities depends upon the existence in the city of a high capacity for municipal government.

"Franchise grants to private corporations should be terminable after a fixed period and meanwhile subject to purchase at a fair value.

"Municipalities should have the power to enter the field of municipal ownership upon popular vote under reasonable regulation.

"Private companies operating public utilities should be subject to public regulation and examination under a system of uniform records and accounts and of full publicity."

I must not leave this subject without saying a word on the question of labor and the views of labor in respect of the public control of the big services. Generally speaking, we may say that the interests of labor are safeguarded in all those services that are publicly controlled in our big municipalities. The number of city employees has enormously increased under municipal ownership. Thousands of men in every large town are employed by the municipality in connection with their water, gas, electricity, and tramway undertakings. It is no exaggeration to say that hundreds of thousands of men are now the servants of public corporations; Glasgow alone has 15,000 employees,

or something like 10 per cent of the registered voters. In all big towns the number of servants who are directly engaged by the city is increasing, and fears are now and then expressed that with this large increase in the number of employees may come an attempt to terrorize the city councils. It would not, however, be true to say that this is the case. Of course here and there it is possible to find instances of a large body of well-organized men bringing a somewhat unfair pressure to bear upon the city authorities, but, generally speaking, the demands of the workmen for higher wages and better conditions are so reasonable that they have been granted without much external pressure. As a rule, a city government is a model employer and sets up a high standard, which private employers are compelled to follow. Town and city councils have, for example, in nearly every case, adopted the trade-union scale of wages for their workpeople, and in some cases even exceeded it. They have also caused to be inserted in all contracts carried out by private employers for the council, a "fair wages clause," which must be observed under heavy penalties. By so doing the city has immensely raised the

standard of living of many thousands of men and women, for the city council sets the pace for other authorities, both private and public. There are many municipalities which now pay as the minimum wage for the lowest class of work thirty shillings a week, and in addition to this wage there are other privileges such as holidays and sick pay. The question of hours has also come to the front during the last few years, and it is now a part of the policy of every municipality to approximate as nearly as possible to an eight-hour day. It is true that in many cases it is still ten hours, but the tendency is to reduce the length of the working day, and a forty-eight hour week is the ideal at which every big city is aiming. The result of the municipalization by the London County Council of street railways has been most satisfactory in this direction, and the effect of public control on similar bodies of men in all parts of the Kingdom has been to reduce the hours of labor by 48 per cent, and to increase the wages by about 42 per cent. This shortening of the hours of labor can only, of course, be carried out by increasing the number of workpeople and by improving the organization. In both these directions the community benefits,

for public control must of necessity become more efficient in order to eliminate waste, while an increase in the number of workers means a decrease in the number of unemployed, who would otherwise tend to deteriorate and become a drain upon the community. There are very few large towns in which direct labor is not employed through a Works Department, for the carrying out of all construction works that in years gone by would have been handed over to private contractors. These big cities make their own street cars, run their own shops and fire stations, lay their own sewers, pave their own streets, paint and repair their own buildings. There are many undertakings that can be carried out by a city more efficiently and more satisfactorily than by private contractors, provided only that the management is of a high order.

The real test after all of the value of municipal ownership is whether the general public is satisfied with the services that are so managed and controlled. It is clear that public opinion is in favor of the ownership of the big services by the city, and any one who sought the suffrages of the people on the understanding that if successful he would

hand over these big concerns to private ownership once more, would have a very slender chance of being returned to the city council. There can be little doubt that with this side of municipal life has come a quickened interest in all that concerns the city's welfare. The civic conscience has been aroused, our ideals for the future have become clearer; we are dominated not so much by purely commercial interests as by our regard for the welfare of all the citizens, even the poorest. Perhaps nothing is more amazing than the increase in the number of open spaces and parks in the big municipalities, which bring health to the city and add to the happiness of its inhabitants but contribute nothing to its exchequer, and are in some senses a heavy drain upon it. We are beginning to learn how to live in the city; we are discovering how to bring the country into the city; and so far as we can make life healthful and pleasant to the town dweller, in that proportion will the civilization of to-day, which is very much an urban civilization, have justified itself.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

THERE are very few signs of any direct connection between the modern trade-unions and the medieval guilds. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries combinations of journeymen carpenters, masons, and carvers occupied a very different position from that taken up by the modern trade-union. The motive which prompted the medieval workmen to unite with their fellows is to a large extent the same motive which animates all labor organizations, but wage earners to-day have formed associations which we know as "trade-unions," largely in order to strengthen their own economic position, to protect themselves as co-operative societies, and to provide such assistance as is required in times of sickness and unemployment. The first trade-unions were, in theory at all events, merely combinations for sick and funeral purposes. They were, in fact, friendly societies, although underneath this outward aspect there was the feeling that sooner or later the

power given them by means of association would be required to wrest from the employers concessions in the shape of wages and improved conditions. For many years, however, all labor combinations for such ulterior objects were illegal; in fact, any association of men "in restraint of trade" was an unlawful association, and "Combination Laws" were enforced in order to crush out this attempt at independence. Not until 1824, as a result chiefly of the efforts of Francis Place and Joseph Hume, were these laws repealed and trade-unions made legal associations. They were reimposed again in the next year, and a fierce struggle was waged until 1875, when, finally, the complete freedom of association was demanded and obtained. During the whole of this time the labor movement was of a revolutionary character, and for a considerable portion of that period it is identified with the socialism of Owen and the Chartist agitation. From 1875 onwards trade-unions have gradually increased in power and influence, slowly developing the political side as a result of their inability to obtain redress of their grievances by strikes. The earlier unions consisted of workmen engaged in the textile trades of Lancashire and Yorkshire

and in the building trades generally. The Iron Founders, first started in 1809, gradually developed from a Friendly Society into a strong trade-union. In 1850 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was formed; in 1853 the Operative Cotton Spinners, in 1858 the Yorkshire Miners' Association, and in 1860 the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Even before this time the National Association of United Trades had been formed, not with any political object, but almost entirely for coöperative purposes. It was only by very slow degrees that the leaders of these older trade-unions were induced to take some part in national politics. In 1874 two labor men, one of whom was Thomas Burt, were returned to Parliament.

Local federations of "Trade Councils" was the next great step in advance, and out of these local trade councils sprang the Trade Union Congress, the British parliament of labor, the first annual conference being held at Manchester in 1868. The labor movement at this time was closely associated with the party of Liberalism and Radicalism, simply because the middle-class politicians who made up the Liberal party were more in favor of these combinations than the Conservatives, who

at that time thought it somewhat dangerous to make any concessions whatever to organized labor. What has been called the "New Unionism" is not really new, but simply the necessary development of these original combinations. The new unionism is the outcome partly of socialism and partly of the feeling that the time had arrived when the purely nonpolitical method must give way to some more militant policy. The great dock strike of 1889 brought to the front men like Tom Mann, John Burns, and Ben Tillett. Tillett still remains at the head of the dock laborers; Mann has for some years been in Australia and has just returned to England—he took an active part in the recent strike of transport workers; John Burns quitted the more extreme socialist movement, and, after a lengthy apprenticeship on the London County Council, accepted office under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as President of the Local Government Board, with a seat in the Cabinet. Previous to this both Thomas Burt and Henry Broadhurst had held subordinate offices in Liberal ministries, both of them being recognized as strong trade-unionists, working in touch with the Liberal party. It is from the dock strike that we

may date the forward movement in trade-unionism and the growing tendency to take part in national politics.

The Gas Workers' and General Laborers' Union is an outcome of this spirit, its secretary being Mr. Will Thorne, the Member for South West Ham and the only Social Democrat in the House. Even he obtained his seat in the House, not as a Social Democrat, but as a Member of the Labor party. It is far from easy to trace all the causes of the growth of the new movement which resulted in the formation of an independent labor party. It is partly no doubt due to the propaganda work of the Social Democratic party, at that time the Social Democratic Federation, partly also to the educative campaign of the Fabian Society, but chiefly to the feeling that the Liberals as a whole had clung too long to the *laissez-faire* policy of the Manchester school, unable to shake themselves free from the powerful grip of the capitalist and employing classes. There is some truth in this view of the case; even John Bright, who was a real philanthropist, was strongly opposed to factory legislation and treated it as an interference with individual liberty. John Bright was typical of

a thousand other men, well meaning no doubt, but blinded by prejudice to the advantages which the community would gain by better factory legislation, by higher wages, and by shorter hours. It was in 1896 that Mr. Keir Hardie, now Labor Member for Merthyr Tydvil, founded the society called the Independent Labor Party — a socialist organization which must not be confused with the Labor party in the House of Commons. Both are independent of other political parties, but the Independent Labor Party is a distinct socialist body with a membership of considerably over 30,000 in which thousands of trade-unionists have enrolled themselves. It has grown in strength and importance ever since its foundation. Some of the most active members of this society represent it and the Labor party proper in the House of Commons; for example, Mr. Keir Hardie himself, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Philip Snowden, and a dozen other men. For several years Mr. Keir Hardie was “a voice crying in the wilderness” so far as a separate Labor party in the House of Commons was concerned, and it was not until 1889 that the trade-unions were drawn into the movement. Some trade-unions gave allegiance

to the new organization rather unwillingly, but they were terrified at the legal decision known as the *Taff Vale Railway Company v. the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants*. They resented what seemed to them to be an attempt of the judges to penalize labor organizations. The judge held, although this view had never before been stated since 1875, that trade-unions were corporations that could be sued with costs and damages for the action of any of their agents whenever such action had caused loss to other persons. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants had to pay very heavy damages to the railway company, and following upon this decision the whole of the trade-union movement was up in arms. Even before the decision was given, the Trade Union Congress had called together representatives of trade-unions, trades councils, and socialist societies to form what was called a Labor Representation Committee, and at the first annual conference in February, 1901, over forty-one trade-unions with 353,000 members, together with seven trades councils, the Fabian Society and the Independent Labor Party, joined the committee. The Social Democratic Federation also

joined for a short time, but afterwards withdrew. From 1901 the committee at its annual conference obtained accessions of strength. In 1906 there were 158 trade-unions and seventy-three trades councils with 921,000 members, and this conference, following upon the election campaign at which many candidates were successful, practically insured the continuance of a separate Labor party in the House of Commons. Out of fifty Labor Representation candidates twenty-nine were elected, as well as eleven members of Parliament in connection with the miners' associations, which were not then affiliated. Fourteen other workmen were either elected as Independent Labor men or as Liberals. In all there were in that Parliament fifty-four who more or less represented labor, about thirty of them occupying an absolutely distinct and independent position. Since that date there have been two other elections and another accession of strength in the shape of the miners' representatives, so that notwithstanding the loss of some seats at the last election, there are at the present moment in the House of Commons forty-two men, including the miners' representatives, forming a distinct labor party abso-

lutely independent of, although in friendly relation with, the present Liberal government. Nearly one half of the men belong to socialist organizations such as the Independent Labor Party. In all they represent 1,450,648 trade-unionists and the two socialist societies, the Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society, while 155 trades councils and local labor parties are also affiliated, the total membership being 1,481,368.

In addition to this movement of consolidation inside the House of Commons there has been a general tendency to strengthen their organization in the industrial field. The Trade Union Congress, with its parliamentary committee as an executive, has not taken quite so active a part in the industrial as in the political world. The main subjects of debate at the Congress have always been the legislative measures which should be pushed forward by the Parliamentary Committee — measures of course designed to ameliorate the condition of the workers and to increase their economic freedom. The Trade Union Congress, however, in the opinion of many, did not sufficiently meet the needs of the labor organizations in view of a possible industrial war between em-

employers and workmen. Accordingly, in 1899, the General Federation of Trade Unions was created, the object being to enable, by means of a big strike fund, the executive committee of the Federation to give practical assistance as well as advice to any constituent union in case of a strike which had been approved by the Federation. This new organization merely followed on the lines of smaller bodies in the great industries; for example, there was a federation of engineers and shipping trades, a miners' federation, and a textile trades federation, all designed to afford protection to the individual unions constituting the larger bodies. This new general federation has practically swallowed up all the others with the exception of the miners, so that in 1908 there were 116 associations, seven of which were federations affiliated to this body, and the total membership was 601,000, 215,000 being in the engineering, metal, and shipbuilding trades and 227,000 in the textile and clothing trades. The general statistics for the trade-unions of the United Kingdom show an increase, though not a rapid increase, during the last ten years, while the tendency has been for the larger unions to absorb some of the

smaller organizations. In 1898 there were 1287 unions with a total membership of 1,688,531; in 1906 there were 1200 unions with a total membership of 2,113,806; while at the end of 1909 there were 1153 unions with a membership of 2,347,461.

The Taff Vale judgment had an adverse effect upon trade-unionism, but that was more than counterbalanced by the passing into law of the Trade Disputes Act, which the House of Lords hesitated to throw out. The Trade Disputes Act was designed to protect the funds of the trade-unions, which had been placed in jeopardy by that famous decision. The new Act also allowed reasonable liberty to the unions in the matter of "picketing," although the definition of "peaceful picketing" is subject to some doubt. The House of Lords, much against its will, accepted the Act, and the trade-unions were once more rehabilitated in the confidence of the workmen.

As to the finances of the trade-unions generally, taking the hundred principal trade-unions, their aggregate incomes amounted during the year 1907 to £2,493,282, while their expenditure was £2,054,157, and their accumulated funds £5,637,661. Of this huge expenditure it is worth noting

that over 22 per cent went to unemployed benefits, 21 per cent to sick and accident benefits, and over 15 per cent to superannuation benefits. Not more than six per cent was expended on disputes and strikes, and this is a sufficient proof of the stability and sanity of the trade-union movement in Great Britain. It is hoped that the recent legislation in connection with Old Age Pensions, as well as legislation with regard to unemployment insurance, will relieve the trade-unions of a portion at least of the burden which rests upon them, and perhaps in some measure strengthen the hands of the trade-unions in their endeavors to improve the economic conditions of labor.

One word perhaps is necessary with regard to women's organizations. It has been a painful and almost "Sisyphean" task, that of organizing female labor, and only recently has the effort met with much success outside the textile trades. Miss Mary Macarthur, who is the general secretary of this movement, has succeeded in putting new life into the federation of women trade-unionists; but even so, at the end of 1909 only about 207,000 can be said to be organized, that is to say, about eight per cent of the combined male and female

membership of all trade-unions. Of these 172,000 belong to the textile trades, principally to the cotton-weaving branch. When we remember that there are some three and a half millions of women wage earners in Great Britain, exclusive of domestic servants, it is not easy to overestimate the greatness of the task that still lies before the leaders of the movement. Apart from the 362,000 women engaged in the manufacture of cotton and 152,000 in the worsted and shoddy trades, there are 100,000 engaged in the manufacture of jute and flax, 340,000 dressmakers in England and Wales alone, 196,000 laundry workers, 117,000 tailoresses, 95,000 staymakers, skirtmakers, and seamstresses. Much work that is done by women is underpaid, and carried on in unhealthy and insanitary conditions. The wages paid to women are nearly always less than the wages paid to men for similar work. The women by their docility and lack of organization are almost helpless in face of the exploiting methods of sweating employers. Especially is it the case that in home work their remuneration is of the very poorest character, while the conditions under which they labor are discreditable to any civilized State.

Reverting to the history of the general move-

ment, a most important decision was given on the 21st of December, 1909, in the House of Lords, affecting the future position and general policy of the trade-union movement. The secretary of a local branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants brought an action against the trustees of the society in order to show that the rule of the society which compelled a member to subscribe to the maintenance of a parliamentary representative belonging to the Labor party was outside the powers of the society. An injunction was also applied for to restrain the trustees from applying the society's funds to any other object than those set out in the Trade Union Act, 1876. The final result of the "Osborne" judgment was to make it illegal to use the monies of the society for paying members of Parliament who were bound to vote in a certain way, and forbidding their application for this purpose. This did not, of course, prevent the maintenance of a member of Parliament by voluntary subscription from the members of a trade-union, but compulsory subscriptions were declared to be illegal, and many trade-unions were seriously affected by the decision. Not only so, but the Labor Representation Com-

mittee and the Labor party in the House of Commons felt that their very existence was imperiled, and as soon as possible a conference of the Labor party was called at Newport. It met on February 8, 1910, and passed a resolution declaring for an alteration in the definition of a trade-union so as to allow unions to engage in the political activities they have pursued up to the present, provided that the members agree, and that such activities are specified in the union rules as part of their declared objects. A Bill has been introduced into the House of Commons designed to achieve this object at least in part, but it is not wholly satisfactory to labor since, in effect, it makes the contribution to the parliamentary fund voluntary and not compulsory. Under this Bill any member of the union can if he thinks fit refuse to pay toward the cost of maintaining the labor representative at St. Stephens. Meanwhile, the Labor party in the House of Commons has accepted payment of members (£400 per annum) which the present government had already conceded as an evidence of sympathy; and modified in its extreme views by the presence of a large number of miners' representatives, it is

holding its hand and watching the course of events. It never was a revolutionary party, and it is perhaps less socialistic than was the case in the Parliament of 1906, by reason of the fact that now it is a homogeneous body inside the House, it is a force to be reckoned with, and no Liberal government, least of all the present government which depends upon the Labor party vote, can ignore the clearly expressed decision of that party. Recently the Executive of the Labor party has declared its willingness to drop the written pledge of voting and working as a party exacted from its members, and this has evidently eased the situation.

I have referred in a former article to some of the principal labor leaders, and few words are necessary to explain their relative positions. Mr. George Barnes, the ex-Chairman of the Labor party, belongs to the socialist organization known generally as the I. L. P. (Independent Labor Party). He is a shrewd and level-headed Scotsman, who, whatever may be the strength of his views, states his case in measured and balanced language. For this reason he commands the respect of all parties in the House. He is also known to be a sincere and thoroughly honest man. The same

thing was said of Mr. Shackleton, who represented the textile trades in the House of Commons, and although not a Socialist was in close touch with all sections of the trade-union movement. He is a big, burly north-countryman, with sincerity written large upon his face, a man of clear, simple, downright utterance, with considerable tact and great judgment. His acceptance of the post of labor adviser to the Board of Trade meant a real loss to the Labor party, although it is a great gain to the country as a whole. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, the present chairman of the Labor party in the House, is perhaps the most widely read man in the Labor ranks. He is a good deal of a statesman, and a really clever politician. So much so is this the case that he has been accused of being a "wirepuller," but the truth is that, notwithstanding his socialist proclivities (he is a prominent member of the I. L. P.), he cannot help seeing all the difficulties of any line of conduct, and recognizing the intractable material which the world of politics presents. He therefore searches for a way out which is not incompatible with his own principles and convictions. He and Mr. Keir Hardie have had the opportunity of visiting India and the

colonies, and in this way are able to speak with some authority on imperial and colonial questions. Mr. Philip Snowden is perhaps the acutest intellect which the I. L. P. possesses, and his influence with the more extreme sections of the labor movement is almost unbounded. Somewhat cynical and bitter in his speech, he is none the less an exceedingly humane and kind-hearted man, full of sympathy with the desires and aspirations of the working classes. He, too, is absolutely honest and sincere. A newcomer, Mr. George Lansbury, also makes his appeal to the advanced portion of the labor world and is evidently a capable and genuine advocate of the cause of the working classes. One might mention a dozen other men of a somewhat different type, like Thomas, Hudson, and Wardle, representing railwaymen, or leaders of the miners, like Mr. William Abraham, who has recently been made a Privy Councilor, and Mr. Enoch Edwards; all alike are animated by an honorable purpose, which compels the attention of the House and disarms hostility. They are men of whom England may well be proud, and in their hands the more advanced wing of the progressive forces is absolutely safe.

Perhaps it would be well to make some slight reference to corresponding movements in New Zealand and Australia, where the workers have been equally successful in obtaining by peaceful means a redress of their grievances. The Progressive party in New Zealand is in such close touch with all the trade-unions that it could hardly be said that there is any distinction between the two movements. The trade-unions have not found it necessary to press for candidates representing their particular industries, nor have they felt it advisable to separate themselves from the main body of progressives. The Representative House at Wellington has no Labor party proper. The moment a measure has been recognized as imperative by organized labor, that moment it becomes a matter of practical politics to the government. It is then merely a matter of time as to when the principles shall be accepted and embodied in an Act of Parliament. Compulsory arbitration in New Zealand was the outcome of the feeling that trade-unions ought not to be compelled to fight for their lives every time they required some improvement in their conditions. The strike of 1890 brought New Zealand within

measurable distance of anarchy, and the dread of a big railway strike following on this encouraged Mr. Pember Reeves, who was then Minister of Labor, in his efforts to frame a bill which would find a way of escape out of industrial war. The law is too well known to need any detailed description. It came into effect in 1895, and since that date, although there have been disputes, on the whole the law has been effective in substituting arbitration for a disastrous strike. The theory of the Compulsory Arbitration law is that the majority must rule, and that the State, as well as the employer and the worker, is interested in industrial peace. A compulsory Court of Arbitration is a great safeguard against the disastrous effects which follow on big industrial convulsions. It seems to harmonize with the whole construction of modern civilization because it allows of a peaceful settlement without harm and without loss of money. The voluntary Board of Conciliation, followed by the Court of Compulsory Arbitration if necessary, may not be a complete solution of our own difficulties in Great Britain, and it is certain that the trade-unions are as yet unprepared to accept such a solution, but it is upon some such

lines, in my opinion, that all civilized nations will eventually have to move.

In England voluntary arbitration is far from being unsuccessful. We have the Conciliation Act, 1896, followed by the scheme devised by Mr. Churchill in 1908, enabling an Arbitration Court to be formed in any dispute when both parties desire such intervention. The Board of Trade can either appoint a single arbitrator or a Court of Arbitration. The result of the past Railway strike and the Royal Commission following it will probably mean the giving of more power to the permanent Board of Arbitrators set up by the State with a view to the immediate settlement of disputes as they arise. This would not of course mean power to enforce its decisions, although it would mean the influencing of public opinion by virtue of the publicity given to the award. On the whole it may be said that although it is too much to hope that serious industrial disputes will always be solved on such lines, yet the very fact that arbitration is even considered, means the strengthening of public opinion in favor of a peaceful, rather than a war-like, method of solving industrial difficulties.

While we in England have been slowly and

steadily consolidating the labor forces of the country in the face of strong and almost overwhelming feudal and landlord influence, the Labor party in Australia has at length succeeded in winning an absolute majority in both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament. Under the leadership of Mr. Fisher, who is the new Prime Minister, with a Cabinet composed almost entirely of workmen, labor has an unequalled opportunity of showing that it possesses the judgment and statesmanship requisite for the task of governing a nation. It is perhaps too soon to say how far the Australian Labor party will be successful in their great enterprise: it depends much upon the personnel of the Cabinet and the self-restraint of the rank and file of the trade-unions. We may, however, feel confident that with the responsibilities of office will come that sober, balanced disposition which distinguishes a true statesman from the mere political agitator. England watches with great interest the democratic movement in its colonies and dependencies. The future success of the movement, both there and in Great Britain, will be assured and permanent if the Anglo-Saxon character has not changed. The working classes are not

given to sudden ebullitions of wrath or to finding outlets in revolutionary projects. Keenly as they desire to see improved conditions for themselves and their fellow men, they are altogether practical in their outlook upon life. The antitoxin of revolution is evolution, the knowledge that systematic development will bring in the end economic liberty in its train. It is in this confidence that the labor movement continues to progress.

THE LAND AND THE LANDLESS

THERE is no more incontestable fact in the history of modern industrial progress than the corresponding depression in agriculture. The enormous increase in the population of the town is matched by the annually decreasing number of persons finding a maintenance on the land. The latest published census returns, 1911,* show an improvement in this respect, though the details published do not enable us to say whether the increase in the rural population is due to an increase in the number of agricultural laborers or persons engaged in rural occupations. Generally speaking, it would be true to say that the number of persons

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—	POPULATION				PROPORTION PER CENT OF POPULATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES			
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1881	1891	1901	1911
Urban Popu- lation at each Census	17,636,646	20,895,504	25,058,355	28,168,970	67.9	72.0	77.0	78.1
Rural Popu- lation at each Census	8,337,793	8,107,021	7,469,488	7,906,299	32.1	28.0	23.0	21.9
England and Wales	25,974,439	29,002,525	32,527,843	36,075,269	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

engaged in agriculture has not increased in proportion to the rest of the population. The preceding table shows this with some degree of accuracy. Side by side with the industrial revolution was an agrarian revolution, which, so far from assisting the agricultural laborer, greatly increased the power of landlordism. The yeoman class almost entirely disappeared, wages represented the entire remuneration of labor, and the peasant, with no rights to the soil, was condemned to a life of hard toil which had no outlook of hope for the future. A proverb of our Saxon ancestors declared "a landless man" to be "a slave," and in truth, the masters of the land are in a very real sense the masters of the people because their existence depends upon the soil. An examination of the history of a nation shows it to be in large measure a history of the land system. The feudal system in England, introduced by the Normans, is to-day a living principle in many agricultural districts. The essential features of feudalism remain unaltered. Under the feudal system absolute property in land could not be obtained, all lands were held mediately or immediately of the King, and the right to take away

land from one man and give it to another was the King's right and the source of much power. That right still exists through Parliament, but nowadays, so far from taking land from one man and giving it to another in arbitrary fashion, land has to be purchased by a municipality, a County Council, or the State after arbitration and full compensation. Notwithstanding this admitted right on the part of the State to acquire compulsorily any land that is necessary for public services, it is only recently that England has followed the example of the Colonies and attacked the very citadel of privilege by an attempt to spread the advantages of land possession over a large number of persons. Public attention has gradually been directed to the important problem of repatriating the landless man and placing once more in touch with the soil that large body of workers whose divorce from agricultural pursuits in past times has meant the creation of new social problems in the town. In the declaration of policy made on December 21, 1905, by the then Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman clearly stated the intention of the government :

“We wish to develop our undeveloped estates, and to colonize our own country. The health and stamina of the

nation are bound up with the maintenance of a large class of workers on the soil. The town population redundant, the country population decimated, is a subversion of healthy national life."

Later on we hope to show that something has been done in the direction indicated by means of various Acts of Parliament and administrative measures, and that much may be achieved as the result of the passing of the Development Act.

We have said that in England the great majority of the people have been divorced from the land, and perhaps there is no country in the world where such a sharp line separates the landlord from the worker. In the olden times the enclosure of the commons deprived the laborer of his traditional rights and made it impossible for him to maintain his independence in the rural districts. These Enclosure Acts were of course passed by the landlords for their own benefit. In 1603 an iniquitous judicial decision respecting the claim of the inhabitants of a village or manor to the legal recognition of their rights made it possible for the lords of the manor to obtain enclosures without difficulty. From the reign of Queen Anne up to 1845 over 4000 separate Acts were passed, and more than

7,000,000 acres were enclosed. These destroyed the yeomen and drove the laborers from the village. The Enclosure Act, 1845, was an attempt to clothe this procedure with an air of impartiality, but in the twenty-four years following this Act, 614,800 acres of common land were enclosed, while only 1724 acres were set aside for public recreation grounds, and 2220 acres for garden allotments. Here, then, we get to the root of much of the difficulty that has faced us in England ever since, so far as agriculture is concerned, and it will largely account for the decrease in the area of farmed land, more than half a million acres going out of cultivation between 1891 and 1908.

These Enclosure Acts also seriously affected the growth and expansion of the towns in certain cases. Take, for example, the town of Sheffield, as one instance amongst many. The Duke of Norfolk was Lord of the Manor when the people of that district were deprived of land, and he has benefited by the Enclosure Acts to an enormous extent. About sixty acres of the two Attercliffe Greens, then common land, are now the center of a densely populated district. In 1791 an Act was passed enclosing about 6000 acres, and the

wealthy people of Sheffield now live on a considerable portion of that land, while the Corporation has been forced to purchase another part for municipal purposes. By the Bradford Act 14,000 acres were enclosed about the time of Waterloo, and the Duke of Norfolk's share was 7000 acres. It was supposed that these enclosures would mean the better cultivation of the land, but it has not always proved to be the case. Sometimes it has been found necessary for the expansion of the town, and sometimes it has been preserved for sporting purposes. In any case its value has greatly increased, and the big landowner to-day reaps the reward of his ancestors' sharp practice. The market rights of Sheffield were in the hands of the Duke of Norfolk as Lord of the Manor, and the city had to purchase those rights for the sum of £526,000, thus making large dues and charges imperative in the case of all who use the market. There is hardly an important town in England that has not suffered in much the same way.

In whatever direction we turn we see the same reluctance to part with the power which the land monopoly gives, and the same persistent domina-

tion by the magistracy, by the Established Church, and the great landowners. It is estimated that between 5000 and 6000 clergymen are appointed to their livings by the owners of the big landed estates, and if this be so we can easily see the immense influence which the landlord at the head exercises upon all below him in the rural districts. The bulk of the land in the United Kingdom is held by a comparatively small number of people. It is extremely difficult to give the accurate figures, but the Return which Lord Derby asked for in 1872, as a result of the criticism of John Stuart Mill, inaccurate and incomplete as it was, does give some vague idea of the number of actual owners. It is true that in the Return leaseholders are counted as owners if their leases are ninety-nine years or more, and that many individual owners appear again and again, while a large number of separate entries were for land belonging to churches, charities, and public authorities. Even so that Return shows that 852,000 landowners only possessed on the average a little more than one fifth of an acre, while the Duke of Sutherland possessed seven times as much as their entire holdings. Dividing the Return

into two great classes, 1,105,000 landlords hold about 5,000,000 acres, while 67,978 landlords hold 67,000,000 acres. From the same Return we gather that twenty-eight dukes held estates to the amount of nearly 4,000,000 acres, thirty-three marquises 1,500,000 acres, 194 earls 5,862,000 acres, and 270 viscounts and barons 3,785,000 acres. The Return shows that 2250 persons owned in that day nearly half the inclosed land of England and Wales. Nine tenths of Scotland was owned by 1700, and two thirds of Ireland by 1942 persons. There is no doubt that at the present time the owners of the land have greatly increased in numbers and especially the owners of land upon which houses have been built, but the real monopoly still remains, and as over against this enormous monopoly it can be said without a shadow of doubt that the overwhelming majority of the people of Great Britain possess no right whatever to their native soil. It is this fundamental inequality which the nation has set itself to redress. Ireland has been seriously dealt with, and the inequality is rapidly disappearing; Scotland remains much where it was, except if possible that the condition of things in the north

of Scotland is growing worse. Some twenty years ago there were about 100 deer forests in Scotland with an area of over 2,000,000 acres. To-day there are certainly not less than 150 deer forests with an area of over 3,000,000 acres.

In England we are hopeful that with the growth of small holdings, encouraged by men like the President of the Board of Agriculture, and as a result of such Acts as the Small Holdings Act and the Development Act, we may be able to overcome the chief obstacles to the diffusion of land among the people, and check the tendency to that process of aggrandizement on the part of the landed interest which has become almost a tradition of the countryside. In so doing we should only be following in the footsteps of our Colonies, where the effect of large holdings has so clearly proved detrimental that the legislation of to-day is devised with a view to the breaking up of large estates. Perhaps the most notable illustration of this was the democratic action of New Zealand, due to the then Minister of Lands, Mr. Mackenzie, which began with the breaking up of the Cheviot estate. This huge estate was owned by one man, and the question of its valuation for taxation purposes when he

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died gave the government its opportunity. The 84,000 acres were assessed at £381,157, and the trustees refused to pay on more than £325,275. Under the land and income tax the government was empowered to take the property at the owner's valuation plus ten per cent, and this was done. Finally the estate was subdivided into agricultural farms of from 500 to 3000 acres, while 2000 acres in the vicinity of the town site at the center were cut up into suburban lots. Roads and railways were made, and the Cheviot Settlement became a great success. In six years the estate had increased to over 1000. That was in 1898. Since then there has been a much greater increase, and the experiment has proved so successful that with the idea of closer settlement the Parliament of New Zealand, working through the Minister of Lands, persevered in the policy of buying estates and cutting them up into small farms. The Australian Colonies have pursued the same policy. Every year many hundreds of thousands of pounds are set aside for the re-purchase of lands alienated in bygone days. These lands when re-purchased are apportioned amongst those who have shown their ability to earn a living upon the soil or are

desirous of quitting the town for the country. South Australia, under powers of compulsory purchase, has made great advances in this direction, its aim being to deurbanize the people. As in New Zealand, the motto is "one family, one homestead."

Section 26 of the Finance Act of 1909 enables the Inland Revenue Commissioners to cause a valuation to be made of all land in the United Kingdom. Ireland has recently been valued, and so Ireland is excluded. There has been a considerable stir in the ranks of the landowners as a result of this new move on the part of the Liberal government, and in some quarters it has been described as a revolution. The extraordinary thing is that similar land valuation has operated in New Zealand for over thirty years. In 1896 an Act was passed making the system of valuation more effectual and more impartial, working on a well-defined basis, and since that time the central office of the Government has supplied valuation lists to all local authorities. Two general re-valuations have been carried out since that date, and not only have the people settled down to an acceptance of this method of dealing with land, but very few would

propose to depart from it. The tax of one penny in the pound on all land including agricultural land operates in very much the same way as an increment duty, and also makes it unprofitable to hold land without putting it to its fullest use. A graduated land tax starting at the £5000 valuation operates conjointly with the ordinary land tax on all agricultural land. Under a recent Act all owners of agricultural land worth more than £40,000 have to pay an extremely heavy super tax, a tax twenty-five per cent heavier than before. It is clear that the idea of this tax is to discourage the holding of large and valuable areas of land in a state of comparative idleness, and it must be admitted that the results in newer England have been completely satisfactory. Meanwhile most of the cities and local authorities have of their own option adopted the system of rating on the "unimproved" value, or as we should say, in the terms of the Budget, "on the site value."

Coming back to England we are struck by the fact that the Small Holdings Act, 1907, has at all events been successful in enabling a large number of laborers and village tradesmen to obtain small holdings. The Act contains a compulsory purchase

clause, by which, after due notice of negotiation, and an inquiry held by the Small Holdings Commissioners, land can be compulsorily acquired at the market price from big landowners. The latest figures (January, 1911) show that 1104 schemes have been submitted to the Board of Agriculture for the acquisition by agreement of 83,962 acres, of which 50,623 acres have been purchased and 33,339 leased. In addition sixty-four orders have been made for the compulsory purchase of 7900 acres and one hundred and six orders for the compulsory hiring of 4900 acres. The gross total of land acquired or proposed to be acquired is 96,180 acres which will provide for over 8000 applicants. Over 2000 other applicants have been provided with holdings by private landowners direct, mainly through the instrumentality of the County Councils. We have had Small Holders Acts before, but they have all proved abortive. This Act, however slow it may be in its operations, is none the less a great success as compared with previous enactments, and probably it could be made still more successful if the Board of Agriculture would assert the right which the Act gives it of compelling local rural authorities to satisfy all

legitimate applications for small holdings. Now that additional Commissioners have been appointed, it is not improbable that much more rapid progress will be made. It is only natural that the Board of Agriculture should hesitate before taking the strong line of compulsion. We must remember that many of these landlords have been secure in the possession of their lands for hundreds of years, and they are always ready to show good reasons for not parting with it. The movement in favor of a resettlement of lands in many country districts is progressing rapidly, and perhaps even the landlord may at last come to recognize that in the interests of the country as a whole, a larger number of people must be established and made independent on the soil.

Very few of the applicants for small holdings seem to desire to purchase the land; in fact, only 2.3 per cent of all who have applied, and the preference for tenancy can readily be understood, when we remember that the small holder is poor, that he has little capital at his disposal, and that what he does possess he requires for the purchase of stock and the development of his land. Under the County Council, which is empowered by the

Act to purchase the land required, he enjoys as a tenant absolute security of tenure and reaps the full reward of his labor in the shape of a valuation for improvements should he be compelled for any cause to leave his holding. There is another reason for preferring tenancy to proprietorship. Land under the Act is often compulsorily purchased by the County Council, and it is only fair and equitable that in such cases it should be used for the purpose for which it was purchased. Under a public authority this is secured, though a small holder as proprietor would have no such obligation resting upon him. However, if a sitting tenant has agreed with his landlord to purchase, the County Council under section 19 of the Act is empowered to advance money enabling him to become the owner of his holding. This section was only utilized five times during the whole of 1909, and the tendency is clearly in favor of tenancy under the public authority, thereby escaping the risk of hampering the estate with a mortgage or burdening the small holder by debt. There is one other point of advantage that should be noted in the idea of tenancy. The tenant, should he find himself unsuited for the work of cultivating a small hold-

ing, is able to quit before he incurs any serious loss, and turn his attention to some other means of livelihood, instead of being compelled to remain in an impossible situation, which can only end in debt and disaster. What is still needed in England is the system of coöperation in agriculture which prevails everywhere in Denmark. "We feel strongly," say the Commissioners in their last Report, "that County Councils ought to do everything in their power to assist in organizing coöperative methods among the small holdings they have established." Already the Western Counties Agricultural Coöperative Society and the Eastern Counties Farmers Association have brought home to many small farmers the benefit of such methods, with the happiest results, and there can be little doubt, to use once more the words of the Commissioners, that "with a proper system of coöperation it will be possible to produce at home a very considerable amount of the butter, cheese, poultry, eggs, fruit and vegetables, which are at present imported from abroad."

Another most important point to be kept in mind if we are to witness a revival of agriculture in Great Britain is the question of agricultural

education. Few people are aware how small is the average farm in Great Britain, at least as concerns the great majority of tenants. Of the 447,000 farms occupied in Great Britain, 203,000 are under fifty acres in extent, and only 15,000 of the total number exceed 300 acres; that is to say, leaving aside the big landowners, the sons of the farmer to-day are not able to obtain a sufficiently good education to fit them for an agricultural career. The farmers are too poor to pay big fees or to send their boys to any well-managed farm institute. If we are to compete with other countries like Denmark, we must give to all younger farmers the most perfect equipment possible for agricultural work, and we must continue this scientific education even into the ranks of the agricultural laborer. There is scarcely a big agricultural country in Europe that does not on the whole supply larger and fuller opportunities than England to the sons of the small farmer, and it is clear therefore that a large portion of the success of the future will depend upon the way in which the new Development Act is used to assist and subsidize farm schools or agricultural institutions of an up-to-date character.

This Development Act, funds for which are provided in the Budget of 1910, aims at "aiding agriculture and rural industries by scientific research, instruction, and experiments in the science, methods, and practice of agriculture (including the provision of farm institutes), the organization of coöperation, instruction in marketing produce, and the extension of the provision of small holdings; and by the adoption of any other means which appear calculated to develop agricultural and rural industries."

A grant has already been made (£325,000 up to March 31, 1911) to the Board of Education in aid of agricultural education. The idea is that working from farm institutes as their headquarters agricultural instructors will be appointed to counties or combination of counties.

"It is intended," says a memorandum issued by the Board of Education, "that a farm institute should serve as the headquarters for the miscellaneous and itinerant work of the agricultural staff, other than that done in regular local courses of instruction, and for educational demonstrations and similar purposes, and that it should also provide accommodation for central courses of instruction

in agriculture and kindred subjects. These central courses, it is explained, might include, for example —

(1) A 16 to 20 weeks' winter agricultural course for the sons of small farmers, who have acquired some practical experience on the land since leaving elementary schools,

(2) Shorter courses in dairy work, poultry-keeping, and the like during spring and summer, and

(3) Vacation courses for teachers of rural subjects in local continuation courses.

The buildings of an institute should include: (*a*) an educational block with classrooms, laboratories for students and staff, dairy, poultry stores, carpenters' and smiths' shops, etc., and, where necessary, bee-keeping and fruit-preserving stores; (*b*) residential accommodation for the principal, and (*c*) such other accommodation as may be desirable. Suitable equipment for the educational work will of course be necessary, and additional provision may in some cases be required for the institution of an information bureau and a library in connection with the work of the staff outside the farm institute.

There is no section of the Development Act more calculated to make small holdings successful

in England. The widespread demand for land on the part of men qualified by knowledge and experience, and the fact that in the majority of cases that demand can be satisfied, goes to prove that under better conditions the tenants of small holdings will be able to make a financial success of this desirable work. More capital and more labor are put into the land if divided up into small holdings, and this will result in more intensive cultivation and in the greater productivity of the soil. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the soil of England is unsuitable for agricultural purposes. The best authorities are agreed that even poor land properly cultivated can be made to produce large crops. Professor James Long gives an illustration of this in the case of an experimental farm which some years ago Dr. Bernard Dyer and Mr. F. W. Shrivell selected for this purpose. The land was poor, light-colored clay loam, resting on heavy clay and naturally infertile. By spade culture and skilful manuring this poor land was made into a valuable and fertile market garden, capable of producing on the average "nineteen tons of cauliflower per acre, fourteen tons of broccoli, twenty-six tons of cabbage, sixteen tons of carrots, twenty-

one tons of small rhubarb, eleven tons of potatoes, and 2160 bundles of asparagus." These figures extend over a series of years, and since then there has been a marked improvement, beans, peas, and bush fruits, strawberries, and plums being added.

Such a regenerated farm has realized substantial profits, and Professor Long's point is that if unemployed labor could be utilized for the spade cultivation of such land, much of it might be reclaimed and made valuable for the production of food. In fact, he regards spade labor as the solution of the problem, and I emphasize it here not because I think that the average town-bred unemployed man is much use as an agriculturist, but because in every town a very large number of men are capable of digging even when they are incapable of any other form of labor. No useful work can be found for them in the town, and if such work can be provided in the country under conditions that are not too exacting, it seems a mistake to forego the chance of bringing under cultivation the millions of acres of uncultivated land, so large a proportion of which would respond to careful and systematic labor. At the same time it must be admitted that the average small holder

will be well advised to take into account good soil, favorable climate, the proximity of markets, methods of coöperation, and the presence of opportunities of outside work by which his income may be supplemented. The town dweller cannot be transplanted to the country on a large scale except for such purposes as I have indicated, but there seems every reason to believe that we have already in the rural districts a class of man who is fully capable of making a living if only fair conditions are offered, and it is from this point of view that the success of the Small Holdings Act is regarded with so much satisfaction.

Among the other methods of helping to utilize the resources of waste land and waste labor is the promotion of forestry — first, the instruction and the training of the men requisite for this work; and, secondly, the purchase and the planning of suitable land. We have already mentioned this new industry in connection with the question of unemployment, and there is little doubt that before long extensive experiments will be made in this direction. Indeed, the government has already purchased several large estates in Scotland for this purpose, while a grant of £10,000 to the Depart-

ment of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland has been recommended to be used for forestry purposes.

It is important to encourage the idea of forestry as a profitable commercial industry. Many big landowners have altogether the wrong ideal of the forest. The gamekeeper has taken the place of the forester, and the woods exist merely for game cover and not for the growth of timber. If the gamekeeper gets the better of the forester, he is sure to cause unemployment, for the laborer whose services could have been utilized in thinning the woods and in planting fresh trees, is discharged when it becomes merely a game preserve. The present system of rating actually encourages the reservation of land for sport which might be and should be used for agriculture. In the olden days, in order to encourage the growth of timber for the Navy, land so used was exempted from local taxation; and when such land came to be used purely for sporting purposes and an attempt was made to rate accordingly, the decision of the judges brought about the present anomalous state of affairs. Such lands, said the court, are to be regarded in their "natural and unimproved state"

and valued as if the wood were not there. That is to say, the land used for a wood or a plantation is to be rated, but it is to be valued as if it were not used for a wood or a plantation, and the effect of the law interpreted by the judges "is to rate an owner who keeps an unprofitable wood in the same way as if he indulges in no such luxury and made the most prudent use of the land instead." These woodlands swarm with game and are a terror to the small farmers in close proximity, and perhaps it would be as well if we could have a state inspection of woodlands, discriminating between such woods as are being scientifically used for forestry purposes and those that are left waste or used merely as cover for game. The point is that in England and Scotland a very large amount of land is merely kept waste for pleasure and sport when it might be reclaimed and utilized either for practical forestry or for some other purpose akin to agriculture. It seems likely that as a result of the Development Act special opportunities will be offered to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and if this be the case, a portion of the ten million acres suitable for afforestation would be purchased by the State and gradually developed on sound scientific lines.

Then the Act will also encourage the reclamation and draining of land, the improvement of rural transit, the construction and improvement of harbors and inland navigation, and the development and improvement of fisheries. A grant of something like £40,000 per annum is to be made to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries for research work. Side by side with this extensive program, the Act provides for the improvement and the making of roads where necessary, and special commissioners have been appointed to carry out this portion of the Act. Land purchase is an essential portion of the scheme, and it would include compulsory purchase on the lines of the Small Holdings Act of 1907.

It is very much to be hoped that the Board of Agriculture, spurred on by those who are responsible for the Small Holdings Act and incited to new effort by the large grants to be made under the Development Act, will gradually become a real Intelligence Department. Agriculture must be made an interesting and attractive industry. It must be a part of our policy to encourage research and investigation, to give advice to every farmer as to the nature of his soil, the kind of stock that he

ought to breed, and all the thousand and one aids which are at the disposal, through experimental farms and scientific stations, of every small holder in France, Germany, Denmark, and Hungary. The Board of Agriculture must not only encourage coöperation, it must help to start coöperative credit banks so common on the Continent, and by collective transport and distribution it must make the work of our agriculturists really effective. The foundations of a strong and virile race are laid in the rural districts, and if agriculture be allowed to decay, no development of industries in the heart of the town will atone for the loss to the nation of that greatest of all industries which makes wealth while it creates manhood.

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